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CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE.

THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ENFRANCHISE ITS OWN CITIZENS.

BY DAVID PLUMB.

PART II.

ALL the people are citizens, and all citizens have the right of the vote. This, we take it, has been demonstrated. Congress, as the Legislative Representative of the government and the shield of the people's rights, is empowered by the principles of the government and by the Constitution, and is summoned by its responsibilities to the people, to perfect the citizenship of all the inhabitants of the land, by securing to them, through a uniform Law of Enfranchisement, the right and the free exercise of the vote. Now let us look at the reasons that substantiate this proposition. Even if the Constitution conferred no such positive power upon the Congress—with nothing forbidding it—still the functions of the Chief Legislative Body, by the principle of Nationality alone, would comprehend the necessary power for the act, and impose upon it the duty of its performance. The first and chief, if not the only, responsibility of any government, is to secure and protect the rights of the people. A government that cannot or will not do this, has no essential element of Nationality, and sinks from the dignity of a government to a mere *simulacrum*—a ghostly effigy of supreme authority. The Fathers declared it to be the right and duty of the government to make sure the enfranchisement of the people, when they said the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are "inalienable," and that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." Neither of these rights is, or can be, secured by a government without the power to declare and maintain the political status of its citizens—in fact, without such power, and that too in vigorous exercise, *subjects* it may have, but it has no *citizens*, nor can it rightfully command the allegiance of the people; for protection and allegiance are correlative, as in every case *right* must be clear on the *one side* before *duty* can exist on the *other*. If the government of the United States ignore its right and duty to enfranchise the people, and leave to the separate States that function to exercise at their option, it is in the possible dilemma of falling to pieces, as a government of the people, for want of citizens and supporters, and of becoming a mere figure-head of a proud and impudent State Aristocracy. For if the States may determine who are citizens, and who may or may not vote, then a cunning, unscrupulous and ambitious Oligarchy of moneyed and landed proprietors, may monopolize the control of the States, and by disfranchising the great body of the people, seize the General government itself as their own and convenient tool, or abolish it altogether and re-establish the old Confederation, or adopt any other system they may choose; thus reducing the absurd, dangerous, and anti-national doctrine of "State Rights" to its legitimate practical results, and so make actual, what we have shown to be true in *theory*, that a government without the power to settle the political status of the people, is not only without Nationality, but is no government at all, but simply an agent, a tool.

Yet grave Senators, and even Republican Senators, joining in with the Nullifiers of the South and the Copperheads of the North to swell the strength of the Democracy, have thought fit, even in this hour of the Nation's peril, to advocate and put forth in print this doctrine of political national ruin! Senator Trumbull's argument, some time since published in the *Advance*, takes this track and rushes on towards the GULF! Will his party take passage on the same train, and drive on with their leader into the Abysm?

Now let us turn to the Constitution itself, with which the Senator pretends to deal. Here we shall find that the organic law positively confers on Congress the power for which we contend, and *authoritatively commands that Body to put it in exercise.* Art. IV. Sec. 4, says, "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." A republican government is a government of the people—the whole people. So the Fathers understood and meant it, and so they made, in theory, the government they set up. This is clear from their declaration that "governments derive their just powers from the *consent* of the *governed*," and from the form of words they used in the Preamble of the Constitution—"*We the people of the United States.*" They were too good logicians and had too much regard for consistency to affirm any different *theory*, whatever we may say of their *practice*. They did not stultify themselves with a *verbal lie*, "to be seen and read of all men" to their shame and disgrace.

That "the people" means the people in *totality*, both the laws of language and the antecedent and contemporaneous history of the case clearly demonstrate. The laws of language need no elucidation. To say "the people" means a *part* of the people is disgracefully absurd. But the facts of history confirm the comprehensive sense. All the thirteen Colonies under the Confederation, except South Carolina, recognized the black man's right of suffrage as well as the white's. None of them, with the one exception, made any constitutional provisions excluding men from the vote on account of color; and, as a matter of practice, many colored men voted at that time. And in the Congress of the Confederation when South Carolina attempted to introduce the word "white" into the fourth Article of Confederation, so that it should read, "The free *white* inhabitants of each of these States," it was repudiated, South Carolina and Georgia, only, voting for it. And when South Carolina made a second attempt to introduce it into another clause of the same Article, it was rejected by the same vote. When, therefore, the people came together, by their representatives, to frame the Constitution of the United States, they came with these views with respect to the right of suffrage and the scope of the meaning of the phrase, "We, the people," and thus fixed its definition beyond dispute as including both white and colored people alike. This is more fully confirmed, if that were possible or necessary, by the fact that the Constitution nowhere qualifies the rights of the people by the word *white* or that of *color*, nor anywhere stains itself with these—in any such connection—odious words. Neither did any of the early acts of Congress, in determining the question of suffrage for the Territories, limit the franchise by color. This is a more modern invention.

But the Fathers distinctly defined a Republican government to be a government of the *whole people.* Mr. Madison says, "In a Democracy the *people* meet and exercise the government in person; in a Republic *they* assemble and administer it by their Representatives." Again, he says, "It is *essential* to a republican government that it be derived from the great body of the people." By the "great body of the people," in the latter quotation, he must mean the same as "the people" in the former. But the only difference he makes between a Democracy and a Republic, is, that in the former, the people act in person, in the latter, by representatives. If, then, this is the only difference, and "people" in a Democracy means *all* the people, which none will deny, then, "the people" in a Republic must also mean *all* the people. Again, Mr. Madison says, "The right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of republican government, *and ought not to be left to be regulated by the* (State) *Legislature.* A gradual abridgment of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built up on the ruins of popular forms." Mr. Mason still more explicitly says, "The true idea, in his opinion, is that *every man* having evidence of attachment to, and permanent common interest with the society, *ought to share in all its rights and privileges.*" These statements were drawn out in the debates in the Constitutional Convention, when this matter was under discussion.

In the face of this cumulative proof the right of all to the vote, Mr. Trumbull, in the article before referred to, says, "A republican government does not depend upon the number of the people who participate in the primary election of Representatives," and attempts to prove that it is not inconsistent in a Republic to deprive colored citizens of the vote, by referring to the example of the States. He might as well attempt to prove national repudiation consistent and right, by citing the example of *Mississippi.* Such an argument would command the plaudits of the Repudiationists, who are sadly in need of an overwhelming demonstration of the right and expediency of their doctrine, which the Senator's statement, if true, would supply. But if one State repudiating is not enough to make the cases parallel, suppose that most of the States had at some time been guilty of the infamous act, would that make it consistent with the principle of *honesty?* But if it is not inconsistent to deprive *colored* citizens of their vote, then it would not be to deprive *white* citizens of theirs; for we have proved that the whites and blacks, as to their rights under the government, stand upon exactly the same basis; and if *all* the colored citizens may be excluded from the suffrage, then *all* the whites may be excluded, and so the government be reduced to a nonentity; or if all but *one* should be excluded—which is among the possibilities if the other is not—then we should have "swung round the circle" of government mutations, and reached the old starting point of the government of the Autocrat.

If, then, a republican government is one existing by "the consent of the governed," that is, by the consent of *all the people;* and if their consent means government created and administered by their votes—and there is no other way in a Republic, at least, by which their consent can be ascertained or even exist, since submission is not consent—then, as the Constitution declares, that the United States *shall* guaranty to every State in this Union a Republican form of government; it is the right of Congress, as the legislative branch of the government—and, in that capacity and for the purpose of legislation, the government itself—to enfranchise all the people of the country who are of the proper age, and not excluded by mental *imbecility* or *moral* disqualifications—which are the only grounds of exclusion—without regard to race, condition, sex, or color. But it is not only the *right* of Congress to do this, but it is bound by the Constitution to *do it.* The words are, "*shall guaranty.*" It has no option; the duty is *imperative.*

We come now to those parts of the Constitution that bear specifically and in terms upon this question. Art. I. Sec 2, reads, "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

This section has been relied on, and is still held as the guaranty of the so claimed State right of regulating suffrage to the exclusion of the General government. But the clause, so far from conferring this right upon the State, does not state *where* the power resides; it simply affirms that the qualifications necessary to elect State Representatives, shall be the standard for determining the qualifications of electors of Representatives to Congress. But the next clause, but one, of the same article, determines, in explicit terms, where the supreme control of the question of Franchise reposes, and reads as follows: Art. I. Sec. 4. "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." Now, as this is the only place in the Constitution that in positive language determines where the power of regulating the elections under the Constitution resides—except Sec. I of Art. 2, respecting Presidential electors, which does not touch the main question—and as this clause gives the *ultimate* power *directly to* Congress, it should settle the question in debate. Though, for the time being, it gives the power to the several States, it declares that "Congress *may* at *any time* make" the *regulations*, or "*alter*" those made by the State Legislatures. That the word "*manner*," in the clause, refers to *suffrage*, and not to anything *incidental*, is manifest, from the fact that it also speaks of the "times and places" of holding the elections, which are the only *incidental* things in the matter. That this is the correct view, is confirmed by Mr. Madison, who is the author of the clause. In the Virginia Convention, which met for the ratification of the Constitution, he interpreted the clause to mean that, while at the outset it was deemed expedient that each State should regulate the question of suffrage, Congress should have the *ultimate* power of control; and that this power was reserved to Congress to prevent the State from abusing the exercise of the right, so as to conflict with the interests and perpetuity of the General government—a thing he and his fellow framers of the Constitution saw to be possible, if not probable. He further stated that the clause invested Congress with the right and power to pass a National Union Suffrage law, which circumstances might render it necessary for Congress to exercise to preserve the existence of the National government.

Such a necessity has at length transpired. The circumstances that have created it are pregnant with the most important and significant lessons that urge, with trumpet tongue, upon Congress the duty of exercising their reserved right in the promulgation of a Universal Enfranchisement law, found to be necessary, not only for the safety of the country and to satisfy the righteous claims of the unenfranchised, but, as this argument has shown, to lift the government into the dignity of a *Nationality.* If, therefore, Congress refuse to bring into requisition their clear prerogative and decline this act which would reconstruct the whole country at once, they are recreant to their highest official obligations. To the government's own cry for redemption from disgrace and peril is added the voice of disfranchised millions, whose right to the vote, both by Nature and the Constitution, is as sacredly theirs as is the right of the Senators and Representatives of the nation through whose delinquency they are deprived of it. The party in power, having the requisite two-thirds majority in both Houses, the settlement of the whole question of Suffrage, which is the main one of Reconstruction, is as wholly within their legislative resources as we have shown it to be within their constitutional right. Of their political supremacy they are well aware; of the perils that environ the nation they are not ignorant; of the righteousness of the claims of the unenfranchised they are well satisfied; and if they are not ignorant of their constitutional power to perform the act of national justice and glory which we have urged—and of this it were a disgrace and a crime for any friend of his country to be uninformed, and how much more for a Senator or Representative of the nation—then there can be no reason for their not acting promptly and with vigor but cowardice in presence of the foe, or of treachery to the cause of human rights, and the agonizing appeal of the poor and the still oppressed.

Had the fathers reduced their principles to stern and beneficent practice, and made the government in fact what they proclaimed it in theory, slavery would have been impossible, sectional jealousy and alienation would have been prevented, a homogeneous industrial, social, and political society would have been established, and dissolution and civil war would have been unknown. But failing in this primal duty and necessity, and first yielding to and then joining the slaveholders in their conspiracy against liberty, they gave us the enslavement of a race, the triumph of despotism, the dissolution of their Union, and civil war deluging the land in blood. Now, in reconstructing the shattered Union, another opportunity is offered to go to the foundations and build anew as the fathers should have built at the first, and so make the nation, at once, both sovereign and just. Not to do this is to sacrifice national sovereignty, perpetuate the old despotism, re-enthrone the old oligarchy, keep the blacks in substantial slavery, if not actually rivet again their old chains, make the blood and treasure expended in the war worse than a waste—a manifold robbery and murder—send down a legacy of strife and a war of races to the generation to follow us, to be crowned with such accumulated judgments of heaven as shall "make all knees tremble and all hearts faint," and thus fulfill the prophecy of Jefferson, uttered while contemplating this very folly and injustice, that "God by His *exterminating thunder* will show His attention to the affairs of the world!"

DAVID PLUMB.

IMPEACHMENT.

MR. BOUTWELL'S CLOSING ARGUMENT.

THE proceedings in the Impeachment trial have been so voluminous as to preclude, for want of space, our giving anything like a connected report. On Wednesday, the 22d ult., Mr. Boutwell made a very able and convincing closing argument in behalf of the Managers. He spoke at great length, concluding his masterly effort on Thursday. We present a synopsis, as follows:

Mr. Boutwell began by a review of the technical and limited issues of record between the House of Representatives and Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and declared that they had been met and maintained by evidence clear and conclusive.

Mr. Johnson's defence that the power of removing executive officers at any and all times without interference was shown to have no sanction by any law or usage. This claim conceded, the President is clothed with power to remove every person who refuses to become his instrument. The House of Representatives has brought Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, to the bar of this august tribunal, and has here charged him with high crimes and misdemeanors in office. He meets the charge by denying and assailing the ancient, undoubted, constitutional powers of the Senate. This is the grave, national, historical, constitutional issue. When you decide the issues of record, which appear narrow and technical, you decide these greater issues also.

Mr. Boutwell discussed at length the constitutional powers of the President and the Senate, and showed that the President of the United States was not endowed by the Constitution with the executive power which was possessed by Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth, but only with such powers as have been expressly granted him by the Constitution, with such other powers as Congress has conferred upon him to carry into effect certain laws. The President can enter into no inquiry as to the expediency or constitutionality of laws. He is bound by the Constitution to execute faithfully all laws made by Congress. Yet he intentionally, on his own confession, violated the Tenure of Office act repeatedly. If he be acquitted on the ground that the laws violated are of a doubtful constitutionality, there is no security for the execution of any law. In my boyhood, from the gallery of the old chamber of the Senate, I looked, not with admiration merely, but with something of awe upon the men of that generation who were then in the seats which you now fill. Time and experience may have modified and chastened those impressions, but they are not, they cannot be obliterated. They will remain with me while life remains. But, with my convictions of my own duty, with my convictions of the danger, the imminent peril, to our country, if you should not render a judgment of guilty against this respondent, I have no alternative but to speak with all the plainness and directness which the most earnest convictions of the truth of what I utter can inspire.

The President cannot plead good motives. The law which he violates is mandatory upon him, and he can have no discretion. There are no qualifying words in the solemn oath of office taken by him. Having no right to entertain any motive contrary to his constitutional obligation to execute the laws, he cannot plead his motive. Inasmuch as he can neither plead nor prove his motive, the presumption of the law must remain that in violating his oath of office and the Constitution of the United States he was influenced by a bad motive. The magistrate who wilfully breaks the laws, in violation of his oath to execute them, insults and outrages the common sense and common nature of his countrymen when he asserts that the laws are so bad that they deserve to be broken. This is the language of a defiant usurper, or of a man who surrendered himself to the counsel and control of the enemies of his country.

The President may, for equally good reasons refuse to execute the Reconstruction laws, and the laws for the collection of the internal revenue, etc., if their execution is dependent on the individual opinion of the President whether they are constitutional or not. With criminal audacity the President attempts systematically to undermine the government itself, by drawing purposely into controversy in the courts and elsewhere the validity of the laws enacted by the constituted authorities of the country. Yet he has not tried to test the laws in the courts. He shrinks from the test he says he sought, the evidence shows that his object was to seize the offices of the government for the purposes of corruption, and by their influence to enable him to reconstruct the Union in the interests of the rebellious States. In short, he resorted to this usurpation as an efficient and necessary means of usurping all power and of restoring the government to rebel hands.

Mr. Boutwell proceeded to show that the power of removal from office was not vested in the President alone, but only in the President by and with the advice of the Senate. All that he can do is to nominate a man, who may be either confirmed or rejected by the Senate. No legislation has attempted to enlarge or diminish the constitutional powers of the President, and no legislation can enlarge or diminish his constitutional powers in this respect, as I shall hereafter show. It is here and now in the presence of this provision of the Constitution, concerning the true meaning of which there neither is nor has been any serious doubt in the mind of any lawyer or statesman, that we strip the defense of the President of all the questions and technicalities which the intellects of men, sharpened but not enlarged by the practice of the law, have wrung from the legislation of the country, covering three-fourths of a century.

On the 21st of February, when the Senate was in session, the President attempted to remove Secretary Stanton in a way not known to the constitution, and in violation thereof. Here the case might be safely rested. But the cause of justice, the cause of the country, requires us to expose and demonstrate the guilt of the President in all the particulars set forth in the articles of impeachment. We have no alternative but to proceed.

Mr. Boutwell showed that the power to remove officers during the session of the Senate, or to suspend indefinitely in the sense claimed by the President, does not exist under the Constitution or by any provision of law. This arrogant and dangerous claim was never asserted by any President, or by any public man, from the beginning of the government until the present time.

The history of the career of Andrew Johnson shows that he has been driven to the assertion of this claim by circumstances and events connected with his criminal design to break down the power of Congress, to subvert the institutions of the country, and thereby to restore the Union in the interest of those who participated in the rebellion. Having entered upon this career of crime, he soon found it essential to the accomplishment of his purpose to secure the support of the immense retinue of public officers of every grade and description in the country. This he could not do without making them entirely dependent upon his will; and in order that they might realize their dependence, and thus be made subservient to his purposes, he determined to assert an authority over them unauthorized by the Constitution, and heretofore not attempted by any chief magistrate. His conversation with Mr. Wood, in the autumn of 1866, fully discloses this purpose.

Previous to the passage of the Tenure-of-Office act he had removed hundreds of faithful and patriotic public officers, to the great detriment of the public service, and followed by an immense loss of the public revenues. At the time of the passage of the act he was so far involved in his mad schemes—schemes of ambition and revenge—that it was, in his view, impossible for him to retrace his steps. He consequently determined, by various artifices and plans, to undermine that law and secure to himself, in defiance of the will of Congress and of the country, entire control of the officers in the civil service, and in the army and in the navy. He thus became gradually involved in an unlawful undertaking, from which he could not retreat. In the presence of the proceedings against him by the House of Representatives he had no alternative but to assert that under the Constitution power was vested in the President exclusively, without the advice and consent of the Senate, to remove from office every person in the service of the country. This policy, as yet acted upon in part, and developed chiefly in the civil service, has already produced evils which threaten the overthrow of the government. When he removed faithful public officers, and appointed others whose only claim to consideration was their unreasoning devotion to his interest and unhesitating obedience to his will, they compensated themselves for this devotion and this obedience by frauds upon the revenues, and by crimes against the laws of the land. Hence it has happened that in the internal revenue service alone—chiefly through the corruption of men whom he has thus appointed—the losses have amounted to not less than twenty-five, and probably to more than fifty million of dollars a year during the last two years.

The Tenure-of-Office law has proved an ineffectual check on this usurping and unscrupulous man who seeks to corrupt every branch of the public service and to finally overthrow the public liberties. He excuses himself on the ground that he has taken the advice of his cabinet officers. That was the advice of serfs to their lord, of servants to their masters, of slaves to their owner. The Cabinet responded to Mr. Johnson as old Polonius to Hamlet:

> Hamlet says—Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?
>
> Polonius—And by the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.
>
> Hamlet—Methinks it is like a weasel.
>
> Polonius—It is backed like a weasel.
>
> Hamlet—Or like a whale.
>
> Polonius—Very like a whale.

The President is a man of strong will, of violent passions, of unlimited ambition, with capacity to employ and use timid men, adhesive men, subservient men, and corrupt men, as the instruments of his designs. It is the truth of history that he has injured every person with whom he has had confidential relations, and many have escaped ruin only by withdrawing from his society altogether. He has one rule of life; he attempts to use every man of power, capacity, or influence within his reach. Succeeding in his attempts, they are in time, and usually in a short time, utterly ruined. If the considerate flee from him, if the brave and patriotic resist his schemes or expose his plans, he attacks them with all the enginery and patronage of his office, and pursues them with all the violence of his personal hatred. He attacks to destroy all who will not become his instruments, and all who become his instruments are destroyed in the use. He spares no one. Already this purpose of his life is illustrated in the treatment of a gentleman who was of counsel for the respondent, but who has never appeared in his behalf.

The thanks of the country are due to those distinguished soldiers who, tempted by the President with offers of kingdoms which were not his to give, refused to fall down and worship the tempter. And the thanks of the country are not less due to Gen. Emory, who, when brought into the presence of the President by a request which he could not disobey, at once sought to protect himself against his machinations by presenting to him the law upon the subject of military orders.

The experience and the fate of Mr. Johnson's eminent adherents are lessons of warning to the country and to mankind; and the more eminent and distinguished of his adherents have furnished the most melancholy lessons for this and for succeeding generations. It is not that men are ruined when they abandon a party; but in periods of national trial and peril the people will not tolerate those who, in any degree or under any circumstances, falter in their devotion to the rights and interests of the republic. In the public judgment, which is seldom erroneous in regard to public duty, devotion to the country, and adherence to Mr. Johnson are and have been wholly inconsistent.

Mr. Boutwell gave an exhaustive review of the character and history of the act of 1798; also the more recent Tenure-of-Office act. He paid a glowing compliment to Secretary Stanton, who by his devotion to principle and at great personal sacrifice, has done more than any other man since the close of the rebellion to protect their interests and maintain the rights of the people of the country. Mr. Boutwell then proceeded to prove that the President *intended* to violate the civil-tenure act, and stated in form what the managers had charged and proved of his guilt, enumerating the several articles of indictment. He reviewed Johnson's meanness relating to the War Department down to the present time, not forgetting his unsuccessful attempts to use Generals Sherman and Thomas. Gen. Emory's noble conduct was averted to.

Mr. Boutwell concluded as follows:

Andrew Johnson incurred the risk of impeachment by the House of Representatives, and trial and conviction by this tribunal, under the influence of an ambition unlimited and unscrupulous, which dares anything and everything necessary to its gratification. For the purpose of defeating the congressional plan of reconstruction, he has advised and encouraged the people of the South in the idea that he would restore them to their former privileges and power; that he would exclude the negroes from all participation in political affairs; and finally he would accomplish in their behalf what they had sought by rebellion, but by rebellion had failed to secure.

Hence, it is through his agency, and by his influence, that the South had been given up to disorder, rapine and bloodshed. Hence it is that since the surrender of Lee and Johnston thousands of loyal men, black and white, have been murdered in cold blood or subjected to cruelties and tortures such as in modern times could have been perpetrated only by savage nations and in remote parts of the world. Hence it is that 12,000 of people are without law, without order, and unprotected in their industry or their rights. Hence that ten States are without government and unrepresented in Congress. Hence that the people of the North are even now uncertain whether rebellion, vanquished in the field, is not finally to be victorious in the council and in the cabinet of the country. Hence it is that the loyal people of the entire Union look upon Andrew Johnson as their worst enemy. Hence it is that those who participated in the rebellion, and still hope that its power may once more be established in the country, look upon Andrew Johnson as their best friend and as the last and chief supporter of the views which they entertain.

The House of Representatives have brought this great criminal to your bar for trial, conviction, and for judgment; but the House of Representatives, as a branch of the legislative department of the government, has no special interest in these proceedings. It entered upon them with great reluctance, after laborious and continued investigation, and only upon a conviction that the interests of the country were in peril, and that there was no way of relief except through the exercise of the highest constitutional power vested in that body. We do not appeal to this tribunal because any special right of the House of Representatives has been infringed, or because the just powers of the existence of the House are in danger, except as that body must always participate in the good or ill fortune of the country. They have brought this great criminal to your bar, and here demand his conviction, in the belief, as the result of much investigation, of much deliberation, that the interests of this country are no longer safe in his hands, but the House of Representatives, representing the people of the country, may very properly appeal to this tribunal, constituted, as it is, exclusively of Senators, representing the different States of this Union, to maintain the constitutional powers of the Senate. To be sure, nothing can injuriously effect the powers and the rights of the House of Representatives, of the people of the whole country; but it may be said with great truth that this contest is first for the preservation of the constitutional powers of this branch of the government.

By your votes and actions in concurrence with the House of Representatives, the bill "regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," was passed and became a law and this notwithstanding the objections of the President thereto, and his argument against its passage. On a subsequent occasion, when you considered the suspension of Mr. Stanton and the message of the President, in which, by argument and by statements, he assailed the law in question, you asserted its validity and its constitutionality by refusing to concur in the suspension of Mr. Stanton. On a more recent occasion, when he attempted to remove Mr. Stanton from office, you, by solemn resolution, declared that his action therein was contrary to the laws and to the Constitution of the country.

From the beginning of the government, this body has participated, under the Constitution, and by virtue of the Constitution, in all matters pertaining to appointments to office, and by the universal practice of the country, as well before the passage of the Tenure-of-Office act as since, the formation of any office whose appointment was by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has been made during a session of the Senate with your knowledge and sanction, except by the nomination of a successor, whose nomination was confirmed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Mr. Johnson, in the presence of this uniform practice of three-quarters of a century, and against the express provisions of the Tenure-of-Office act, made in this particular, in entire harmony with that practice, asserts now absolutely the unqualified power to remove every officer in the country, without the advice or consent of the Senate. Never, in the history of any free government, has there been so base, so gross, so unjustifiable an attempt upon the part of any executive, whether Emperor, King, or President, to destroy the just authority of another department of the government.

The House of Representatives has not been indifferent to this assault. It has not been unmindful of the danger to which you have been exposed. It has seen that you must admit that without its agency to support you, you were powerless to resist these aggressions or to thwart in any degree the purposes of this usurper. In the exercise of their constitutional power of impeachment, they have brought him to your bar; they have laid before you evidence showing conclusively the nature, the extent and the depth of his guilt. You hold this great power on trust, not for yourselves merely, but for all your successors in these high places, and for all the people of this country. You cannot fail to discharge your duty, That duty is clear. On the one hand, it is your duty to protect, to preserve and to defend your own constitutional rights; but it is equally your duty to preserve the laws and the constitution of the country. It is your duty to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the rights of the people under it. It is your duty to preserve and to transmit unimpaired to your successors in these places all the constitutional rights and privileges guaranteed to this body by the form of government under which we live.

Nothing, literally nothing, can be said in defence of this criminal. Upon his own admissions he is guilty in substance of the gravest charges contained in the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the House of Representatives. In his personal conduct and character he has no quality or attribute which enlists the sympathy or regard of men. The exhibition which he made in this chamber on the 4th of March, 1865, by which the nation was humiliated and republican institutions disgraced, in the presence of the representatives of the civilized nations of the earth, is a truthful exhibition of his character. On the other hand, it is your duty to try to convict and pronounce judgment upon this criminal, that all his successors and all men who aspire to the office of President in time to come may understand that the House of Representatives and the Senate will demand the strictest observance of the Constitution. That they will hold every man in the presidential office responsible for a rigid performance of his public duties.

His violent denunciations and blasphemous declarations made to the people on various occasions and proven by the testimony submitted to the Senate, illustrates the other qualities of his nature. His cold indifference to the desolation, disorder and crimes in the ten States of the South, exhibit yet another feature. Can any one entertain the opinion that Mr. Johnson is not guilty of such crimes as justify his removal from office, and his disqualification to hold any office of trust or profit under the government of the United States?

William Blount, Senator of the United States, was impeached by the House of Representatives and declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and though not tried by the Senate, the Senate did nevertheless expel him from his seat by a vote of 25 to 1, and in the resolution of expulsion declared that he had been guilty of a high misdemeanor. The crime of William Blount was that he wrote a letter and participated in a conversation from which it appeared probable that he was engaged in an immature scheme to alienate the Indians of the southwest from the President and the Congress of the United States, and also incidentally to disturb the friendly relations between this government and the governments of Spain and Great Britain. This at most was but an arrangement, never consummated into any overt-act, by which he contemplated, under the possible circumstances, which never occurred, that he would violate the neutrality laws of the United States. Andrew Johnson is guilty, upon the proof, in part and upon his own admissions, of having intentionally violated a public law, of usurping and exercising powers not exercised nor even asserted by any of his predecessors in office.

Judge Chickering, of the District Court of New Hampshire, was impeached by the House of Representatives, convicted by the Senate and removed from office for the crime of having appeared upon the bench in a state of intoxication. I need not draw any parallel between Judge Pickering and the present respondent. Judge Prescott of Massachusetts was impeached and removed from office for receiving illegal fees in his office to the amount of ten dollars and seventy cents only. Judge Prescott belonged to one of the oldest and most eminent families of the State, and he was himself a distinguished lawyer; but such was the respect of the Senate of that State for the law, and such was public opinion that it was the duty of the magistrates to obey the law, that they did not hesitate to convict and remove him from office. The Earl of Macclesfield was impeached and convicted for the misuse of his official power in regard to trust funds, an offence in itself of a grave character, but a trivial crime compared with the open, wanton and defiant violation of the law by a chief magistrate, whose highest duty is the execution of the laws.

If the charges preferred against Warren Hastings had been fully sustained by the testimony, he would be regarded in history as an unimportant criminal when compared with the respondent. Warren Hastings, as Governor-General of Bengal, extended the territory of the British Empire, and brought millions of the natives of India under British rule. If he exercised power in India for which there was no authority in British law or British customs; if, in the exercise of the power, he acquired wealth for himself or permitted others to accumulate fortunes by the outrages and wrongs perpetrated upon that distant people, he still acted in his public policy in the interest of the British Empire, and in harmony with the ideas and purposes of the British people.

Andrew Johnson has disregarded and violated the laws and Constitution of his own country. Under his administration the government has not been strengthened, but weakened. Its reputation and influence at home and abroad have been injured and diminished. He has not outraged a distant people, bound to us by no ties but those which result from conquest and the exercise of arbitrary power on our part; but through his violation of the laws and the influence of his evil example upon the men of the South—in whose hearts the purposes and the passions of war yet linger—

he has brought discord, confusion and bloodshed to the homes of 12,000,000 of people, many of whom are of our own blood, and all of whom are our countrymen. Ten States of this Union are without law, without security, without safety; public order is everywhere violated, public justice nowhere respected, and all in consequence of the evil purposes and machinations of the President. Forty million of people have been rendered anxious and uncertain as to the preservation of the public peace and the perpetuity of the institutions of freedom in this country.

There are no limits to the consequences of this man's evil example. A member of his cabinet, in your presence, avows and proclaims that he suspended from office a faithful public officer, who was appointed by your advice and consent, an act which he does not attempt to justify by law or usage, except what he is pleased to call necessity. Is it strange that in the presence of these examples, the ignorant, the vicious and the criminal, are everywhere swift to violate the laws? Is it strange that the loyal people of the South, most of them poor and dependent, not yet confident of their newly-acquired rights, exercising their just privileges in fear and trembling, should thus be made the victims of the worst passions of men who have freed themselves from all the restraints of civil government? Under the influence of these examples, good men in the South have everything to fear, and bad men have everything to hope.

Caius Verres is the great political criminal of history. For two years he was the Praetor and the scourge of Sicily. The area of that country does not much exceed 10,000 square miles, and in modern times it has had a population of about 2,000,000 souls. The criminal at your bar has been the scourge of a country many times the area of Sicily, and containing a population six times as great. Verres enriched himself and his friends. He seized the public paintings and statues and carried them to Rome: but at the end of his brief rule of two years, he left Sicily as he had found it, in comparative peace, and in the possession of its industries and its laws. The respondent has not ravaged states nor enriched himself by the plunder of their treasury; but he has inaugurated and adhered to a policy which has deprived the people of the blessings of peace, of the protection of the law, and of the just rewards of honest industry.

A vast and important portion of the republic, a portion whose prosperity is essential to the prosperity of the country at large, is prostrate and helpless under the evils which his administration has brought upon it. When Verres was arraigned before his judges at Rome, and the exposure of his crimes began, his counsel abandoned his case and the criminal fled from the city. Yet Verres had friends in Sicily, and they erected a statue to his name in the streets of Syracuse. This respondent will look in vain, even in the South, for any testimonials to his virtues or to his public conduct. All classes are oppressed by the private and public calamities which he has brought upon them. They appeal to you for relief. The nation waits in anxiety for the conclusion of these proceedings.

Forty millions of people, whose interest in public affairs in the wise and just administration of the laws, look to this tribunal as a sure defence against the encroachments of a criminal chief magistrate. Will any one say that the heaviest judgment which you can give is any adequate punishment for these crimes? Your office is not punishment, but to secure the safety of the republic. But human tribunals are inadequate to punish those criminals who, as rulers or magistrates, by their example, conduct, policy and crimes, become the scourge of communities and nations.

No picture, no power of the imagination, can illustrate or conceive the suffering of the poor but loyal people of the South. A patriotic, virtuous, law-abiding chief-magistrate would have healed the wounds of war, soothed private and public sorrows, protected the weak, encouraged the strong, and lifted from the Southern people the burdens which now are greater than they can bear.

Travellers and astronomers inform us that in the Southern heavens, near the Southern Cross, there is a vast space which the uneducated call the "hole-in-the-sky," where the eye of man, with the aid of the power of the telescope, has been unable to discover nebeula or asteroid or comet or planet or star or sun. If that dreary, cold, dark region of space which is only known to the less than infinite by the evidences of the creation elsewhere, the great author of celestial mechanism has left the chaos which was in the beginning. If this earth were capable of the sentiments and emotions of justice and virtue which in human mortal beings are the evidences and pledge of our Divine origin and immortal destiny, she would heave and throe with the energy of the combined forces of air, fire and water, and project this enemy of the two races of men into that vast region, there forever to exist in a solitude as eternal as life, or as the absence of life, emblematical of, if not really that outer darkness of which the Saviour of man spake in warnings to those who are the enemies of themselves, of their race and of their God. But it is yours to relieve, not to punish. This done, and our country is again advanced in the intelligent opinion of mankind.

In other governments an unfaithful ruler can be removed only by revolution, violence or force. The proceeding here is judicial, and according to the forms of law. Your judgment will be enforced without the aid of a soldier. What other evidence will be needed of the value of republican institutions? What other test of the stength and vigor of our government? What other assurance that the virtue of the people is equal to any emergency of martial life? The contest which we carry on at your bar is a contest in defence of the constitutional rights of the Congress of the United States, representing the people of the United States, against the arbitrary and unjust claims of the Executive. This is the old contest of Europe revived in America. England, France, and Spain, have each been the theatre of this strife. In France and Spain the Executive triumphed. In England the people were victorious. The people of France firmly but slowly regain their rights, but even yet there is no freedom of the press in France. There is no freedom of the legislature; the will of the Emperor is supreme. Spain is wholly unregenerated. England, alone, has a free parliament and a government of laws, emanating from the people, who are entitled to vote. These laws are executed, and a sovereign who should wilfully interpose any obstacle would be dethroned without delay. In England the law is more mighty than the king. In America a President claims to be mightier than the law.

This result in England was reached by slow movements, and after a struggle which lasted through many centuries. John Hampden was not the first nor the last of the patriots who resisted executive usurpation, but nothing could have been more inapplicable to the present circumstances than the introduction of his name as an apology for the usurpations of Andrew Johnson. No man will question John Hampden's patriotism or the propriety of his acts when brought to the question whether the ship money was, within the constitution of England, before the courts. But no man will admit that there is a parallel between A. Johnson and J. Hampden. Andrew Johnson takes the place of Charles the First, and seeks to substitute his own will for the laws of the land. In 1636 John Hampden resisted the demands of an usurping and unprincipled king, as does Edwin M. Stanton to-day resist the claims and demands of an unpriucipled and usurping President. The people of England have successfully resisted executive encroachments upon their rights. Let not their example be lost upon us. We suppressed the rebellion in arms, and we are now to expel it from executive councils; this done, republican institutions need no further illustrations. All things then relating to the national welfare and life are made as secure as can be any future event. The freedom, prosperity and power of America are assured. The friends of constitutional liberty throughout Europe will hail with joy the assured greatness and glory of the new republic. Our inter-difficulties will rapidly disappear. Peace and prosperity will return to every portion of the country. In a few weeks or months we shall celebrate a restored Union, upon a basis of the equal rights of the States, in each of which the equality of the people will be recognized and established.

This respondent is not to be convicted that these things may come, but justice being done, these things are sure to come. At your bar of the House of Representatives demand justice—justice for the people, justice to the accused. Justice is of God, and it cannot perish. By and through justice comes obedience to the law by all magistrates and people. By and through justice comes the liberty of the law, which is freedom without license.

Senators! So far as I am concerned the case is now in your hands, and it is soon to be closed by my associate. The House of Representatives have presented this criminal at your bar, with equal confidence in his guilt and in your disposition to administer exact justice between him and the people of the United States. His conviction is the triumph of law, of order and of justice. I don't contemplate his acquittal. It is impossible. Therefore, I don't look beyond. But, Senators, the people of America will never permit an usurping executive to break down the securities for liberty provided by the Constitution. The cause of the country is in your hands. Your verdict of guilty is peace to our beloved land.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1868.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society invite its members and friends to assemble at Steinway Hall, New York, on Wednesday, May 13, at 10½ o'clock a.m., for its Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.

It is hoped that by the day named for this meeting the government will be again in the hands of loyal men—that Treason will have been thrust from the White House and Loyalty will preside there. Then may we expect to see fitting measures adopted, not only to set up suitable political institutions in the lately rebel States, but also to establish free schools; to protect the negro, furnish him land, and guarantee to him forever his liberty and his vote; to shield the loyal white man from insult and death; to protect capital, and encourage throughout those States the enterprise, the business energy, and the industrial activity which are indispensable to their thorough and permanent reconstruction. Then, too, may we hope to see initiated those changes in the laws of Northern States which are needed for the colored race and for the peace of the Union.

All these matters have, directly or indirectly, a large influence on our cause. On such of them as directly and closely concern us, it becomes the Abolitionists to record their judgment and utter their testimony—doing all that in them lies to press these points on the conscience of the Nation, and to secure immediate attention to them; as well as to obtain for their clients—the negro race—the most complete political equality and the most absolute guaranty possible for its continuance.

We earnestly urge all friends of the Society to be present and aid in its deliberations.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, MARY GREW, Col. T. W. HIGGINSON, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, and others, will address the meeting.

Mr. SIGISMOND LASAR will preside at the organ.

A Business Meeting of the Society will be held on Thursday, May 14, commencing at 10½ o'clock, a. m., at Dodworth Hall, Broadway, opposite 11th street.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *President.*

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, AARON M. POWELL, } *Secretaries.*

"NEGRO SUPREMACY."

"A GOOD cry"—a plausible motto—is indispensable to a party; therefore the lying mouthpieces of the slave power call upon their followers to unite against a projected "supremacy of the negro."

The Abolitionists have always received from their opponents one involuntary tribute to the justice and soundness of their ideas, namely, it was found necessary to misrepresent and caricature those ideas, before arguing against them—before even attempting to make out a case against them. If a man claimed the right of every human being to marriage, as against the concubinage enforced by the planter upon his slaves, he was called "an amalgamationist." If a Republican claimed that the people in U. S. Territories ought all to be free, he was stigmatized as "a *Black* Republican." If any one affirmed that negroes were men, and had the rights of men, he was called "nigger-worshipper." If an Abolitionist protected a fugitive slave, on the ground of his natural right to freedom, it was assumed forthwith that he wanted that slave to marry his sister. And now, when suffrage is demanded for black people as for white, on the ground stated as an axiom by the Declaration of Independence, namely, that the right of the ruler depends on the "consent of the governed," an outcry is immediately raised against "negro supremacy."

Well, good people, if you insist on stating the matter in that way, let us make a bargain. We will join you in opposing negro supremacy, if you will join us in maintaining negro equality; the equal rights of black people and white under the law. What say you? Don't hesitate.

The very idea of being ruled by negroes, by a different race, is shocking to you. Think, then, what must have been to negroes, for a century past, the idea and the reality of the rule of a different race, a rule made harsh by law, custom and prejudice, a rule enforced under the impulses of caprice and passion, a rule from which there was no appeal, a rule which held its ground against reason, right, humanity, republicanism and religion, a rule which could be overthrown only by a revolution that shook the continent!

You have heard of "poetic justice." You have sometimes been pleased at seeing a specimen of it—the bad man getting from his intended victim, not what he sought for, but "what he deserves." Suppose the great Superintending Power had so ordered it in this case! Suppose that, for a hundred years following 1862, it had been appointed that the black men should be masters and the white men slaves! Shocking thought, is it not? But consider a little. Would the case have been *much* worse than it was before? Do you think that blacks, in such a case, would look out any more for No. 1, or any less for No. 2, than the whites did before them? Of course they would scorn the idea of working, and would see that all the necessary work was done by the whites; of course they would take for granted that whites had no rights which black people were bound to respect! But then they would be humane to their slaves; it would be their interest, you know, to take good care of their own property!

The very statement of reasons like this in behalf of a *real* supremacy of the blacks shows how flimsy, how hollow, how hypocritical, was all that men were accustomed to say in defence of a supremacy of the whites; and also, how flimsy, hollow and hypocritical are the complaints now made against the voting of negroes, and the epithets used to describe that state of things. Under the reconstruction acts most favorable to the blacks, they will have, and can possibly have, only so much political power as the proportion of their number to that of the whole population fairly entitles them to. They will have, and can possibly have, only what we claim for ourselves as natural justice, the inherent "rights of man." Why should they not have these rights? How weak must be the cause which feels unable to oppose negro equality without first calling it "negro supremacy!"

What is the actual position of the Southern blacks in regard to the realization of an improvement in their condition. A national edict has proclaimed that they are no longer slaves. Is it strange that they aspire to be men and citizens? Wicked and shameful laws, enacted by slaveholders, depriving them of the rights of free locomotion, property, marriage, education, the power of contract, and a voice in the election of the rulers who were to govern them—these relics of the old system are null and void, broken by the very rebellion that was designed to enforce them. Is it strange that the black man now claims to *use* such civil and political rights as the nation has conceded to him? Is it strange that he is disposed to vote, and to send his children to school, and to get a fair price for his work, and to take counsel with the friends of freedom rather than with those who seek the re-establishment of slavery?

The moderation which the colored people of the South have shown in moving forward towards the possession of these rights—rights but lately granted them by us, though our most venerated standards declare them the inherent and inalienable rights of all men—is truly wonderful. They modestly and quietly venture to take what the new laws and customs offer to them. They buy small patches of land, when they have money and opportunity. They send their children to school, when there is a school. They are ready to accept any fair contract for labor. When election day comes, they go to the polls and offer their vote. And they hold meetings to consider the best modes of making these new opportunities available. The whole demeanor of the negro, under the improved conditions of the past five years, has been such as to show him worthy of them.

Strange to say, it is the continuance of the colored people in a quiet course of improvement like this, which has brought out from the white people of the South the frantic scream with which their newspapers are now filled, about the danger of "negro supremacy." Five millions of people having entered simply and naturally upon the discharge of the plainest duties of citizenship, twelve millions of other people cry out in alarm that they are threatened, that they are assailed, that they are about to be ruined! *Non constat.* It does not appear. The whites have the majority. The schools, the polls and all the occupations of life are as free to the twelve millions as to the five millions; most of the land and the whole of the press is in their hands; they have the habit of organization, and they have always been accustomed to govern. Where is the danger? The pretence of danger is at once a falsehood and an absurdity.

The most significant fact of all is yet to be mentioned. These complainers of a pretended danger of "negro supremacy" are systematically inflicting enormous outrages, in violation at once of law, humanity and decency, upon the very negroes whom they falsely accuse. Not only the blacks, but their white friends, all friends of the Union, all favorers of the Republican party, are subject, throughout most of the rebel States, to systematic intimidation, to threats of violence, constantly impending, and liable any time to be put in execution. Some are violently expelled from their homes, and forbidden to return on pain of death. Some are shot by concealed assassins; but oftener, these ruffians are in such force, and so sustained by the numbers and influence of the old slaveholding party, that they go openly, by daylight, and with abundance of noisy demonstration, to perpetrate the various outrages, not unfrequently including murder, which come under the denomination of Lynch law. The Kux Klux Klan, in many of the Southern States, is using atrocious violence of every sort to prevent freedom from gaining the advantages of that liberty which the "military necessity" of the Union gave them; and such papers as the Richmond *Examiner* have the impudence openly to praise these lawless and brutal wretches, to call their purpose "noble and heroic," and to compare the devastation which they commit among quiet and peaceful families to the blow struck by Brutus against the tyrant of Rome.

It was said by one of old that Satan had come upon the earth in great wrath, because he knew that he had but a short time. These Southern brutes in human form see by the waning power of their friend Andrew Johnson that their time is short, and their only hope is, by acts of lawless outrage, to discourage the colored people from further contest for their rights, drive some to emigration, and induce the rest to accept a position midway between slavery and freedom during the critical period of reconstruction. Their hope is vain. The freedmen remember Fort Pillow, and understand that nothing is to be gained by yielding to these wretches, the rear-guard of the army of slavery. Firmness in the maintenance of such rights as the law has already given them, and a steady, quiet demand for whatever else may be included in "equality under the law," are as indispensable to them now as was bravery in the field while the war lasted. We believe that the negroes will justify the wisdom as well as the rectitude of our claim that they should be treated as men; and our labors in their behalf—our strictly ANTI-SLAVERY labors—must not cease until the last vestige of *caste*, the product of slavery, shall have been expunged from the Constitution and code of every State, North and South. C. K. W.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE Southern elections so far as held have served to show that the colored voters, though many of them were but recently bought and sold as property, have sufficient intelligence to use the ballot, as well as the musket effectively on the side of freedom and loyalty. Their conduct as voters we observe, wins praise from even the New York *Times*. We hope the *Times* will not longer lend its influence to those who seek either to deprive these negroes of the ballot altogether, or to make its use dependent upon tests of education and property.

A GOOD name was never more shamefully misappropriated than that of the so-called "Democratic" party of this country. As an illustration take the following from the *Jeffersonian*:

"DEMOCRACY.—In Virginia in 1861 a woman was indicted, tried and sentenced to two years imprisonment for teaching a slave to read. The indictment reads as follows:

"And the said———, not having the *fear of God before their eyes*, but moved and instigated thereto by the devil, did teach a certain negro woman to read the Bible, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, etc."

This was a Democratic indictment, under a Democratic law in a Democratic State, and is the doctrine of the party to-day as much as it was then." This unscrupulous party wears its name as a stolen livery "to serve the Devil in." Baffled in its efforts to save slavery intact, it now seeks to defraud the negro out of his equal political rights as an American citizen.

THE impeachment trial is still prolonged by the arguments of the Managers and of the counsel for the President. We give a synopsis of Mr. Boutwell's on our first page. One of the most effective arguments yet addressed to the Senate was given by the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens on Monday last. Though chiefly confined to a single charge, it is incontrovertible, and renders still more certain a verdict of guilty, if among Senators there be no treachery. It is expected now that the arguments of Messrs. Stanbery and Bingham will require till Monday or Tuesday next. The Senators will then deliberate upon the case, how long is not yet apparent. The end cannot be reached too soon. An Executive who is guilty enough to deserve impeachment, cannot be allowed a single day to exercise the functions of the office without jeopardy to the public welfare.

WE again remind our friends at a distance of the date of the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in this city on the 13th inst. Let all who can do so make timely arrangements to be in attendance.

THE House Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, has unanimously reported against amending the Constitution so as to allow Woman Suffrage. Only one member of the Committee was favorably disposed, and he was finally persuaded to vote against his judgment. The report was promptly accepted in both branches. This makes the third year in succession that the legislators of Massachusetts have frowned upon the extension of the ballot to women. This is a sorry record for Massachusetts legislators, and one of which a few years hence they will not be proud. Patient perseverance in reiterating the just demand for the equal enfranchisement of women on the part of the friends of the measure, will ultimately win complete victory.

PERSONAL.

Sallie Holley will lecture in Onondaga Valley, N.Y., on Sunday, May 3.

The Boston *Commonwealth* says:—William Wells Brown will give his lecture on the African race in this city on the 10th of May. Wendell Phillips will preside.

The Rev. John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, will deliver a lecture upon "Immortality" in the Second Unitarian chapel, corner of Clinton and Congress streets, on Sunday evening, May 3.

The Rev. Mr. Forman, of North Bridgewater, Mass., preached, on Fast Day, an able discourse in which he advocated impeachment, and made an earnest appeal for equal rights for the negro.

The Springfield *Republican* says: "Stephen S. Foster spoke eloquently in defense of woman suffrage on Tuesday evening, at Worcester, and held a brief conversational discussion at the close of his address."

Miss Edmonia Lewis, the colored artist, has sent home from Italy a statuette group in marble of two figures illustrating the act of emancipation. It is on exhibition at Childs & Co.'s, in Tremont street, Boston.

Ralph Waldo Emerson gave the third and last of his course of lectures before the Brooklyn Liberal Christian Union in the Hall of the Packer Institute, on Saturday evening last. His subject was "The Relation of Intellect to Morals." He was listened to with the closest attention by a very appreciative audience. On Sunday evening, the 26th ult., he lectured to a large audience in the Second Unitarian chapel (Rev. John W. Chadwick's) upon "The Rule of Life."

Mrs. Kemble concludes her Shakspearian readings for the present season in this city, this (Wednesday) afternoon, with "As You Like It." On Friday evening, May 1st, she will read her own translation of Schiller's "Mary Stuart." On Saturday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, she will close her very successful series by a miscellaneous programme including selections from Milton, Scott, Longfellow and Whittier.

De Tocqueville says of the Newspaper: "A newspaper can drop the same thought into a thousand minds at the same moment. A newspaper is an adviser who does not require to be sought, but comes to you without distracting your private affairs. Newspapers, therefore, become more necessary, in proportion as men become more equal individuals, and more to be feared. To suppose that they only serve to protect freedom is to diminish their importance; they maintain civilization."

Dr. Dio Lewis, we see it announced, has decided to discontinue his seminary for young ladies at the close of the present year. The extensive buildings (for an excellent photograph of which we are indebted to Dr. L.) were, it will be remembered, destroyed by fire last autumn. The one hundred thousand dollars required to build, in the present general depression, it is found impracticable to raise. This will occasion disappointment and regret with many who looked to Dr. Lewis's school as the source of a better type of education, especially of physical training, for young women. He will continue his Normal Institute of Physical Culture in Boston for the education of teachers.

A correspondent, writing from Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 28, says:

"The question of Woman's Suffrage has been presented to us by three different minds during the past lecture season, Tilton, Dr. Holland and Anna Dickinson; and I may say that *all* have advanced the cause, for in Dr. Holland's case, as it often happens, the wrath of man had been made to praise God. By his sentimental, unreasoning estimate of "woman's sphere," he totally defeats his darling purpose of making his lecture an antidote for the poison administered by Tilton and Miss Dickinson. He has yet to learn that every true woman scorns the substitution of flattery for appreciation and idolatry for justice.

"Last Saturday evening, Miss Dickinson gave us her lecture on "Idiots and Women," and the best praise that any effort craves, can be given hers, that she cleared away the doubts from many inquiring minds. The lecture is logical, forcible and eloquent; and not many could have left the chapel without carrying away an impulse to be more earnest. Thank God for every effort and influence, direct or indirect, that gives earnestness to woman's life, and develops the yet untried resources of her power."

An American gentleman who recently visited John Stuart Mill, at his country residence in Avignon, France, thus describes him as he appeared in the modest little cottage where most of his time is spent:

"I found myself in what seemed to serve as a library to the owner of the house. In an arm-chair in front of the fire-place, in which some coals were still burning, notwithstanding the warm spring sunshine without, there sat, with a cat purring at his feet, the well-known form of Mr. Mill. He rose as I entered, welcomed me by a cordial shake of the hand, and invited me to be seated. Mr. Mill's figure is of more than the average height, but he could hardly be called tall. His form is decidedly slender. His head impresses one at once as the seat of intelligence of the highest order and the highest activity. The upper portion is very broad, but below the splendid high forehead the face becomes narrow-featured. His eyes are grayish, and not large, but of a most genial expression. His nose is thin and straight, and well proportioned. The features run into a very sharp chin. The complexion of the clean-shaved face is rosy, and clearly indicative of good health. His voice is not strong, but of great clearness, notwithstanding the delicate and almost womanly gentleness of its tones. Mr. Mill is a rather hesitating public speaker. His ordinary conversation discloses the same defect, which is probably the result of a long habit of weighing words before committing himself to them."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 28th, 1868.

AFTER Impeachment, the safety and future of the Republican party demands the embodiment into law and platform alike, of the principle of equal national citizenship—the same in Michigan as in South Carolina. It must be remembered that the administration which Gen. Grant will draw around him, and more than that, the influences and associations sure to affect his policy, will not be of the sort likely to be affected by what "practical" men sneer at theory, ideas, fanaticism. We must get our main work done now and during the ten months of Wade's administration—which it is expected will follow this trial. Every day proves the truth of this. Men of the Fessenden type, grumblers of the Grimes sort, well meaning politicians like Wilson, will have more to do with affairs than any others. But they in their turn will be overslaughed by the West Pointers—not of the red-tape school, it is true, but of the abler sort. Grant's administration is much more likely to seek diversion for the people in a semi-aggressive, "manifest destiny" sort of policy, than it is to gather the tangled and broken threads of our internal polity, and so weave them ever again in the national loom, that they shall come out a perfect web, glowing with beauteous colors and instinct with the radical harmonies of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It will be so much easier to do the first than the last. The great work of making a coherent nationality will probably be left altogether to the grosser material influences of prosperous trade and industrial enterprise, duly combined, of course, with the more subtle and imponderable forces of education and growth thereby.

So I return to "my muttons," and they are the necessity of settling finally the account between this Republic and the negro. Let us have one and one only rule of citizenship throughout the length and breadth of the land. That citizenship should be made to include all male and female. But if the Republican party are not now ready to take both, I shall accept the one-half and go on fighting for the remainder. I am for Woman Suffrage, but to obtain it I am not willing to yield myself to the guidance of those whose instincts are entirely oligarchic, and whose whole lives have been a battle in support of reaction. But this *en passant*.

Chicago must be made to feel the pressure of the necessity referred to. The platform to be adopted there must demand the enactment of equal suffrage. Congress must be required to enact a law that will accomplish this, or it must submit an amendment to the Constitution establishing it. The South will be there, in the person of her delegates, white and colored, to declare that without such declaration and enactment by the Republicans in national convention assembled, there will be no security for them or their party in the South. The hardest thing in the recent Carolina canvass the Republicans and speakers had to encounter, was the Democratic argument that one rule was applied South which was not applied in the North.

The *pros* and *cons* of the point I make on this subject are made most plainly visible over the contest going on here, *sub rosa* to a great extent, over the Vice-Presidential nomination. Much of the early antagonism towards impeachment, much of the maneuvering for delays constantly visible, is the resultant action of a fear that in the prospective nomination of a genuine Radical for Vice-President, there is a certain indication of a platform which shall give forth no uncertain sound. Were not Mr. Wade of us, and a more placable man in his place, there would be made manifest a greater desire for a speedy close of the pending trial. The jealous opposition, ill-concealed by many and not hidden at all by some, to Senator Wade, grows not out of personal dislike, but because he is a representative of aggressive Radicalism.

Grant's friends, and perhaps the General himself, would doubtless prefer some one else. It is declared that promises of support have been made both to Colfax and Wilson. The latter cannot get it. There will be enough radicals in that convention to kill him off, and they will do it, because far more to Henry Wilson than any other active man of the party are we indebted the almost certain candidacy of Gen. Grant. Those of us who know how things have gone here and what pressure has been brought to bear upon earnest republicans who have opposed the Grant movement, will not be likely to thank the engineer-in-chief. So it may be set down as certain that, whatever is done or talked of now and here about the Vice-Presidency, is dictated by the fears that the action of Chicago may be too aggressively Radical. Let the Anniversary Meeting speak out loudly. The sound of its eloquence will be heeded by the Northern lakes.

There is no change in impeachment—except that Grimes has stated distinctly that he should vote to acquit. It is reported that Fessenden will go the same way, having declared that to do otherwise is to commit perjury, which he will not do for his constituents or any one else. If no one else would follow them the Republican party in the United States Senate would have nothing better happen to it than to lose this couple. Worse than old men of the sea, they have been a burden which has always had to be lugged up. Impeachment will be successful by about 38 or 39 votes.

ASMODEUS.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 26, 1868.

WHEN the Managers of the Tract Society at Boston, undertook to protect their institution from the rivalry of the National Tract Society in New York by making an alliance with it, it was plain enough *a priori*, that they and their establishment would be "done very brown." Their strategical skill, compared with that of the New York Secretaries, was, say as that of Nelson, in the impeachment case, to that of Butler. It was a foregone conclusion that, in such a contest, the New York Society would conquer, as it always has conquered. Time will be required to show the details of the success of its policy, but the first item of it has already appeared, as follows:

One great object of the Boston managers was to get rid of the rival establishment of the New York Society, its "New England Branch" Depository, settled snugly by the side of their own Depository in Cornhill, and diverting from their counter many an unwary country customer, besides receiving the intentional support of those conservatives in the church who held to the traditions of the elders, and thought slavery no less sacred than the Westminster Catechism.

Accordingly, one item of the bargain was that this troublesome "New England Branch" Depository should be given up; to the end that the Boston Society might monopolize the local tract business. Well, it *was* given up; but the final arrangements took time, and the Depository remained open, and continued to supply customers with the regular New York article, and now, lo, you! Mr. N. P. Kemp, who has always been a partisan of the New York Society, advertises that he, with a partner, has taken that stock and stand, and that they will keep all the New York publications for sale on the most favorable terms, etc., etc. The amount of it is that the National Society has kept its promise to the letter, but the Boston Society has not gained the hoped for advantage. Some other items of the bargain will probably turn out much in the same way.

Will the Boston managers complain? I think they will make the best of a bad bargain and discreetly hold their tongues. For when they were asked by dissenting members, at the meeting in the Old South Chapel where this bargain was made, how they could rely upon the promises of those who had already acted so treacherously as well as so profligately in the matter of slavery, Rev. Dr. Dexter and others made an elaborate eulogy of the New York Secretaries, saying that they respected them more than formerly, having learned *to know them better!* Ha, ha, ha!

Rev. Samuel J. May's "Recollections of the early Anti-Slavery Reformers," published in the *Christian Register* of this city, have now reached a point of exceeding interest to all who remember those early times. After the Boston mob in 1835—the violent assault by "gentlemen," in open day, upon a Women's Anti-Slavery meeting—a sort of reaction took place, and a considerable number joined themselves, in sympathy, to the side thus persecuted. Among others, sundry clergymen, some of them Doctors of Divinity, saw the justice of the charges which Mr. Garrison and his associates had made against the church, and had the manliness to join the Abolitionists, unite in their protest against slavery, and demand that the representatives of religion should raise *their* voice against it.

About that time two noble women, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, educated in Quaker ideas, and thoroughly acquainted with slavery through their residence in South Carolina, felt it their duty to travel and lecture for the purpose of making public protest against that legalized abomination, giving their testimony as to its injustice and inhumanity, and arousing all citizens, and especially all Christians, to oppose it. These zealous, able and faithful co-laborers were of course warmly welcomed by Abolitionists. Abby Kelley and others in New England had already begun their life-long labors in the same cause. In courage, in self-sacrificing fidelity to principle, and in clearness of spiritual perception, these women were equal to any of their predecessors in the field. They were prized not less as counsellors than as fellow laborers.

Here the newly-converted clergymen felt their church customs and ecclesiastical traditions impinged upon. To the community in general it was a strange, a startling thing—*how* startling, the young people of this generation can hardly realize—to find women placed on committees, chosen officers in societies, and making addresses in public assemblies. But to clergymen these proceedings had an aspect of heresy as well as of novelty and irregularity. Paul had said it was a shame for women to speak in the church. Taking this *dictum* of Paul for a rule of Christianity, and assuming that religion as well as custom had decided the inferiority of women, these clergymen first tried to discourage and put a stop to this new custom, and, failing in that attempt, many of them soon after withdrew themselves from the Abolitionist ranks.

Meantime, the great body of the clergy, who had shown no sympathy with Anti-Slavery in any way, eagerly seized this opportunity to protest against it as infidelity. The customary "Pastoral Letter" of the General Association (Orthodox Congregational) of Massachusetts, was written in 1837 by Rev. Hubbard Winslow, which lifted up its testimony against the co-operation of women in public works of reform, as a practice fraught with guilt and danger.

In our times, arrogant assumption of authority by clergymen (I mean clergymen not of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches) is a trait rather of individuals than of the profession. Now and then a minister will still say—as Rev. A. L. Stone did in a sermon in Park street church—that it is the business of the preacher to direct, and the duty of the hearers to *obey*. But in 1837 the whole General Association of Massachusetts took this ground as if it were self-evident. "One way," they said in their Pastoral Letter, "one way in which the respect due to the pastoral office has been in some cases violated, is in encouraging lecturers or preachers on certain topics of reform to present their subjects within the parochial limits of settled pastors, *without their consent*. Your minister is ordained of God to be your teacher, and is commanded to feed that flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer. If there are certain topics upon which he does not preach with the frequency, or in the manner that would please *you*, it is a violation of *sacred and important* RIGHTS to encourage a stranger to present them. Deference and *subordination* are essential to the happiness of society, and *peculiarly so* in the relation of a people to their pastor."

Of the public action of women the same documen said (with the express purpose of dissauding their parishioners from attendance on the lectures of the Misses Grimke and others): "The power of woman is in her dependence, flowing from the consciousness of that weakness, which God has given her *for* her protection and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the characters of individuals and of the nation. * * * But when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, *our care and protection of her seem unnecessary;* we put ourselves in self-defence against her; she yields the power, which God has given her for protection, and her character becomes unnatural. If the vine, whose strength and beauty is to lean upon the trellis-work and half conceal its clusters, thinks to assume the independence and the overshading nature of the elm, it will not only cease to bear fruit, but will fall in shame and dishonor into the dust."

Probably Dr. Todd, of Pittsfield, who has lately been so severely shown up by Gail Hamilton, sat in that Association of 1837, and gave his voice and vote to its Pastoral Letter. His book, written last year, accurately represents what was the *general* feeling in 1837; and the fossil state in which he now appears is a good specimen of the way in which a man saturated with ecclesiasticism becomes impenetrable to reason and to reform.

It was of this Pastoral Letter of 1837 that Whittier wrote:

> So, this is all—the utmost reach
> Of priestly power the mind to fetter!
> When laymen *think*, when women preach
> A war of words! a "Pastoral Letter!"
> A Pastoral Letter, grave and dull—
> Alas! in hoof and horns and features,
> How different is your Brookfield bull
> From him who bellows from St. Peters.

And, in allusion to the warfare made by these Reverends against the Misses Grimke, the poet said:

> But ye, who scorn the thrilling tale
> Of Carolina's high-souled daughters,
> Which echoes here the mournful wail
> Of sorrow from Edisto's waters,
> Close while ye may the public ear—
> With malice vex, with slander wound them—
> The pure and good shall throng to hear,
> And tried and manly hearts surround them.

Having reported to you occasionally various movements in theology and religion in this region, I am happy to add to these a brief account of an Association organized March 3d of the present year in Providence, R. I., which seems to me better adapted than any I have previously known to help in the great work of incorporating religion with life. I quote the most characteristic of their articles of organization, namely:

ARTICLE 1. The name of this organization shall be the UNION FOR CHRISTIAN WORK.

ART. 2. The objects of its members shall be to do good and to grow better. Any person may become a member of this Union, by signing these articles of organization.

ART. 3. Any person wishing to withdraw, may do so by signifying his wish to the President or Secretary of the Union, who shall write against his name "withdrawn," with the date.

ART. 11. The Working Committee shall co-operate in all Christian work, but their special duties shall be assigned as follows, viz.:

The Committee on Worship shall provide for the free religious meeting on Sunday evening, at present known as the City Hall service; they may also provide any other religious services they deem desirable and called for by the wants of the people; and in general institute any movements which can bring any soul nearer to God.

The Committee on Education shall provide for a service for mutual instruction for men, women and children on Sunday afternoons, shall establish a library as soon as practicable, and shall institute any lectures, discussions or other educational movements for mutual instruction on week-day evenings, they think proper.

The Committee on Hospitality shall furnish a room to be opened every week-day evening, and during the day if possible; shall arrange any entertainment for the members they think desirable; shall welcome and care for any strangers in the city; shall especially look after all young men and women coming into the city as

strangers, and endeavor to make the Union, its pleasures and its duties, a home to them.

The Committee on Benevolence shall ascertain the pressing wants of our poor, either by personal investigation, or by communication with the established charitable agencies of the city, and take measures for their relief. They shall watch and care for those discharged from our prisons and reform school, and try to find employment for them. They shall minister to the sick and suffering. They shall seek to develop the principle among themselves and other members of the Union, that charity is not the giving of alms alone, that our highest life finds its best expression in mutual works of love, that money finds its true value when it is offered as a symbol of the love which shone through the life of Christ.

NORTH.

CLOSING OF THE CRETAN FAIR.

SPEECH BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Cretan fair in the Music Hall, Boston, closed on Saturday evening at half-past 10 o'clock. The attendance was very large throughout the evening. Much impatience was manifested to hear Mr. Wendell Phillips, who had been announced to speak. At a quarter before 9 o'clock Mr. Phillips made his appearance on the platform, and was introduced by Hon. Thomas H. Russell, in the following language:

Ladies and Gentlemen: We have with us to-night one whose voice is always lifted up for liberty wherever liberty is in peril. I introduce a gentleman who has shown us that Grecian eloquence is not one of the lost arts of the ancients—Wendell Phillips.

REMARKS OF MR. PHILLIPS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are here at the bidding of the ladies' committee to be of use to the great cause that assembles us under this roof; and the first use to which I shall put the attention you give to me to-night, is to endeavor to call to your mind the closing scene of this festival. On Monday next, in this hall, in the afternoon, under the auspices of the Harvard Musical Association, there will be given a concert, to add, it is hoped, one or two thousand dollars to the resources of this committee. I shall not ask you to be present, because I am not here to-night to thank any one who hears me, either for his presence or his aid. I come here myself to-night at the bidding of the committee, to thank them for having permitted me to associate my name with this brave and gallant effort to aid a brave and gallant people. I congratulate the ladies themselves on the privilege which the hour gives them to work in such behalf. I congratulate you, every one of you, that Providence gives you the opportunity to help a noble deed. What is life worth,—getting up and lying down, putting on and taking off, eating and drinking, ornamenting and conversing, that which we call society, adding a few dollars to a heap, or familiarizing our lips to a new language,—what are all these? God gives us life for two objects, either to do a noble act or to help those that do it; and the only hour a man lives worthy of his creation is when either he stands in ranks like those that Crete now marshals against her oppressor, or when he stands, as we do here, five thousand miles off, and nerves the arm of the Cretan soldier, and tells him to fight on, for we will help him. (Applause.)

I expect every man of you, worthy to stand under this roof to-night, to be grateful for the opportunity; for he only who is grateful for such an hour is fit for such a service. And I hail this meeting in another respect, for I look upon it as no gathering merely for a charitable purpose; I look upon it as the protest of Boston, in the name of the United States, and in behalf of the American civilization, and American ideas. Europe recognizes no right in distinct and separate peoples to choose their own government; Crete—a separate island, guarded by hundreds of miles of ocean on every side, her people testifying their wish to govern themselves, by no words but by revolution and revolt, repeated every ten years for centuries, and carried out to-day in the face of nakedness, starvation, exile and death—Crete stretches her arm across the Atlantic and asks us to protest against Europe, and to advocate the American idea that every nation has the right to govern itself. And Boston makes this answer to-day: We assert, first the right of a people to choose their own government, and secondly, the lack of all right on the part of a nation like Turkey to be a government. The motto of America is Liberty, Fraternity, Humanity; Turkey lives by starving its subjects, and exterminating slaves; they allow no right of conscience, no right of nationality, no personal liberty to man, and no protection to the purity of woman; and in the name of American civilization I deny the right of such a horde of barbarians to style themselves a government. (Applause.)

Men question our right to help a struggling people against a recognized government. I deny the right of a Christian people so to recognize the government of Turkey as to prevent the sympathies of Christians going out to the starved, murdered and hunted population of Crete. I look upon this meeting as a protest of the American people against the aspiration of its government, and an announcement of the great principle of civilization, the rights of all nationalities to protect their own liberties, and the lack of right in a despotism like that of Turkey to claim a place in the sisterhood of nations. This much I might say for any government and for any people; but when you remember that I am speaking of Greece, of that race to which we owe so much in art, literature and science; in all the elements which make modern civilization, that we must borrow both her language and her eloquence, fitly to utter it; when you know that I am speaking for the land which furnished not only the romance, but almost the religion of history,—for the land of Homer, of Æschylus, of Plato, and of Demosthenes,—the debt we owe to modern Crete seems utterly inexpressible. We realize this here, and our little city, set upon a hill amid the nationalities of the earth, backs Dr. Howe against the world. (Applause.) She says to France and England, the representatives of European diplomacy, "thus far and no farther" in the cause of an effete despotism and brutalizing government like that of Turkey. We are here as the representatives of peoples, nationalities, races and governments, to stand up against piracy and barbarism—the cross against the crescent.

I might stand here and cite the touching incidents of this struggle; but when you get a people contending for human rights, the race always exhibits the same noble heroism, the same sublime endurance.

I know no praise to be accorded to-night to Crete that is not equally shared by all people when they are brought to the same trial. Dr. Howe has told us since his return from the shores of Crete of that act, hardly equalled by any of the deeds in the classic age, of the starving men, fathers and husbands, who took the bread you sent them and carried it on their shoulders to the mountains, and their starving lips never tasted one single kernel as they laid it down at the feet of the women and children to whom you sent it. Sparta cannot parallel, certainly cannot outdo that heroism. The Roman girl crying out to her coward husband, "Poetus, it is not hard to die:"—Bozzaris's last words, "To die for Liberty is a pleasure:"—the negro wife of St. Domingo plunging the dagger into her own bosom and giving courage to her husband with the words, "Dear, when liberty is gone what is life?"—the Cretan's mother's tears because her babe died out of Crete, and the slave mother's joy because she buried hers in Canada "free land."—all these are outbursts of the same heroism. The only distinction Greece has is that, while these bright hours lighten other histories only now and then, her annals are thickly studded with such gems.

But I will not detain you even in giving expression to the enthusiasm which brings you here to-night. Some men deny our right to sympathize, but certainly we have a right to give bread to a wife and child. I remember some nine years ago, when we met under another roof in this city to ask a Boston audience for bread for the wife and children of John Brown, one timid speaker absented himself from the platform because, he said, he would not join in the advocacy of a cause that had two sides. Governor Andrew, with brave and ready epigram, answered the letter by one single sentence. He said: "I did not think the question whether the wife and children of John Brown should have bread, admitted of two sides." (Applause.)

So, to-night, let diplomatists dispute about international law, let the Secretary of State put his veto on the action of the government, we know that whether we are permitted to send swords to the soldiers or not there can be no dispute that we have the right to send bread to the children. For myself, I admit no such distinction. I shrink from no such responsibility. I know there was a Byron who died at Cressy, and another who [illegible]gincourt, and their names are enrolled on the banners of the father-land and preserved in the ballads of the age; but for me, if I had my choice, tenfold rather would I be the descendant of the Byron who sent swords to the Missolonghi and bread to the children of those that died there. (Applause.)

You remember, all of you, the touching story of that Swiss patriot, Arnold Winkelreid, who gathered a sheaf of spears into his own bosom. As he went forward into the heart of the Austrian army to give his life for his country, he looked back to the ranks of soldiers and said: "I go to make you a path; comrades, remember my wife and child." When Garibaldi called, the Italians asked him what he wanted of them. The bugle note of the revolting chief answered—"I welcome you to toil, to want, to wounds to exile, and to death. Are you ready to follow me?" So to-day Crete says to her men, I welcome you to toil and to want, to exile, and to death; I welcome you to the scaffold and to the battle-field; and the men of Crete answer with their swords. But as they go up to make a pathway for Christianity and civilization, standing on the outpost of the European world, Crete turns for assistance to you, the last born, and yet the leaders of the nineteenth century, and says, "Sons of self-government, I will open you a path for the cross of democracy, but, dear comrades, remember my wife and my child." (Applause.) What shall the answer be, men of Boston to the call?—"Dear comrades, remember my wife and my child." Well, I say the answer shall be, bread and shelter. The answer shall be from you and your comrades an appeal to the government that they will not let the banner, which half a million of patriot men, within the last five years, have made the representative of justice and liberty, steal along the waters of Crete without a welcome for one single exiled inhabitant; but that they will make the deck of an American frigate a refuge and shelter for the women and children of that persecuted isle. We will leave this hall only to go out and roll up a public opinion which will put Washington behind the army of Crete. America will at least give heed to the wives and children on that struggling island, and then having sheltered the noncombatant, having fed and clothed as becomes Christian civilization the wife and child, let us give even a higher meaning to the lines of Longfellow and say: "Soldier of Crete, fight and fear not."

> "Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
> Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
> Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
> Are all with thee, are all with thee."

I will not detain you by any longer appeal; Crete herself has made the best. She did not send to us in Massachusetts; we did not hear of her first from the lips of petitioners, we did not know of her struggle by the begging accents of her sons. No, we heard first of Crete in the thunder of her cannon, and the terror of Europe. Europe is aghast at this last rising of the people to claim their rights. Crete did not come and place herself by our side as a petitioner for aid; she leaped into the arena of nations armed from head to foot. It was only when we saw France and England deserted her, when we saw diplomacy attempt to smother the struggle for democracy, that America answered from the voice of every lover of his own idea, it is another race contending for what our flag represents, and we stretch our hand half round the globe, and clasp it with the warriors of Crete, that represent the cross. Not in pity extending it, but in great honor, in profound gratitude, thankful for the opportunity of continuing still our great battle for the right. (Applause.)

THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM SOLVED.

To the Editor of the Standard:

That we are living in an age of progress no one in his senses can deny; that is if credit is given to whom credit is due. The old stereotyped assertion that the colored man cannot be elevated to a higher sphere of intellectual and scientific civilization in its broadest significance is like the worn out accursed system of negro slavery and negro hate, being obliterated from the vocabulary of mis-called American history.

All that the old Abolition fanatics ever contended for was to give the slave the right to own himself, and the nominally free colored man the right to control all his civil and political rights, in common with the masses of American citizens "to the manor born," give them ground enough to stand upon, and they would remove a world of objections.

It is true that the colored race have under the skilful hands of the anti-slavery lapidarians been manipulated into eminent divines, lawyers, statesmen, doctors, orators, scientific mechanics and shipbuilders. But there is also in existence a secret, silent, unacknowledged, irresistible, powerful force, working its way along in and through the trackless paths of old ocean's highway of the world's civilization, viz: the colored sailor. These erratic philosophers of toil, are also making complete the history of American commerce. In fact, to-day there are engaged in the mercantile marine, naval, whaling and internal navigation services, not less than 60,000 colored seamen. Upon a fair estimate, in almost every sailing-ship you can find one or more practical navigators capable of finding the longitude and latitude, either by dead reckoning or Mercator's plain sailing, and working chronometer time, logarithure and trigonometry. Capt. Paul Cuffe, of Massachusetts, was the first practical colored sea-captain who could navigate a ship to all parts of the world. Since his day a host of such capable colored men of the same capabilities have lived and died in the whaling service. The time was when a colored captain could not clear a ship for a foreign port without having at least one white man on board to swear by.

To-day, be it known, these objections and objectors have all passed into oblivion. There is now lying in this port ready for sea a vessel named the James M. Waterbury (schooner), and cleared for Monrovia, West Coast of Africa, commanded by Capt. George Brooks, a colored man, native of Boston, Massachusetts, and manned entirely by colored seamen. Also, the shipping of the crew, shipping articles and affidavits necessary to clear the ship in the New York Custom-House made up by William P. Powell, a colored Notary Public.

This is the first time in the history of this country where colored men have taken such a prominent part in a commercial point of view, and have been entrusted with such responsibilities. Capt. Brooks passed a regular examination in this city and received his certificate authorizing him to command any ship sailing to any part of the world. This "difficult problem, under greater difficulties," is solved. What say the croakers, can the negroes be elevated? • • •

New York, April 28, 1868.

THE "RADICAL RELIGIOUS CLUB" OF BOSTON.

We extract from a private letter relative to the last meeting of the Radical Religious Club of Boston, the following:

"The rain on Monday, April 20th, did not prevent quite a large gathering of the members of the "Radical Club" of Boston, in the hospitable parlors of Dr. Bartol, who was himself absent on account of ill health. John T. Sargent fulfilled the duties of President, which in these meetings are not very onerous. Mrs. Cheney read an essay to which she gave no title, but which might have been called The Relation of Art to Religion. It seemed almost strange to those of us too young to remember the charmed circles that Margaret Fuller was wont to draw around her, to see a woman holding spell-bound by the magic of her eloquence and the witching beauty of her thought, the rarest and richest minds of the great Radical movement of New England. When Mrs. Cheney had concluded, a general discussion of art, music, and literature followed. While Mr. Weiss seemed to carry his hearers upward with him as he spoke of Beethoven's symphonies till we could scarce breathe in that pure ether where he seemed to stand face to face with God, Col. Higginson brought us safely down to earth again, with no ruder shock than that which our national self-complacency suffered, from his searching and sarcastically good humored criticisms of all American attempts in art and literature. After the meeting a goodly number adjourned by invitation to Mr. Sargent's house near by, where the club often assembles, and where we were joined by Wendell Phillips, who embraced this, his only opportunity, to meet the members of the Club and join with them in a farewell to Rev. Samuel Longfellow on his departure for Europe. Among guests present were Mr. Weiss, Mr. Wasson, Mrs. Cheney, Lieut.-Gov. Claflin, Louisa Alcott, Mrs. Celia Thaxter, Col. Higginson, and others, who had so lately been occupied in discussing the highest questions of art and religion, now discussed the refreshments spread before them, and mingled in general conversation on all sorts of pleasant topics.

It was a most gratifying and delightful conclusion of a rich, intellectual feast."

FRIPPERY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

When it is remembered that, in the earlier part of the session, the Senate, by resolution, ordered the title "honorable," which previously had preceded the names of the Members of their House, to be erased from their books, the assumption of classification in dress, on the part of their present president, must appear not only unseemly but reprehensible. What motive can Mr. Chase have for donning an antiquated costume when called to preside over the Senate? Does he think the most eminent statesmen in the world will not respect the law unless they see it in a bag? Or is this disgrace to the simplicity of our republicanism retained for the purpose of overawing refractory legislators with its majesty?

Goldsmith tells us of a savage chieftain who, on being presented with a sword by a Dutch captain, registered the fact in his titles thus: "Lord of the sun, brother of the moon, and mighty monarch of the brass handled sword." Surely we shall be compelled to emulate that potentate, who manifestly was every inch a king, and call our Chief-Justice and President of the Senate (*ad interim*), the Grand Gownsman of the Republic.

The distinguishing feature of our American system is respect for the dignity of man. In spite of unconstitutional slave legislation, there is no higher title in this community than that of an American citizen, and it seems to be the intention of our present Congress to make that title valuable. We honor justice, not its symbols. As our subject is a toilet question, it is permissible in us to hope that, previous to robing himself, Mr. Chase does not forget what Chatham calls the "lustration" part of the dressing performance. Hot from a court still redolent of the Dred Scott dictum, one would think considerable soap would be necessary, for, as Moore says,

> "You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will;
> But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

Mr. Sumner has given us one most effective lecture on the "Barbarism of Slavery;" surely, now, there is room for another on the "Barbarism of Frippery," as it appears "in *propria persona*" in the Senate. Kings, princes, dukes, marquises, viscounts, earls, barons, baronets and right honorables have, by common consent, been ruled out; but excellencies, honors, honorables and esquires are still unfortunately tolerated amongst us. In like manner barbaric symbols of authority, crowns and chancellors maces, gold and silver sticks in waiting, were properly repudiated by our fathers. Since their time we have improved upon their instructions by stripping the law of its Pagan Latin forms, which were unsuited to the genius of our republicanism. No relic of the past remains to disfigure it, except the wretched rag on the back of the Chief-Justice. If there be an edict compelling that officer to array himself in a particular dress when acting as president of the Senate, Mr. Chase does his duty only in obeying it; but simple precedent can hardly justify the continuation of so ridiculous a custom, which is unsuited to us, however customary it may be in communities where respect for law is based upon the ignorance and servility of the public.

R. W. H.

IMPEACHMENT—RADICALS RENOMINATED.

LETTER FROM COL. C. E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Nothing more emphatically demonstrates the feeling of the loyal people of the nation on the subject of impeachment than the unanimity with which the original friends of impeachment are renominated for re-election. In Indiana, Julian, Orth, and Shanks have been renominated almost by acclamation, and it is stated that every one of the members from that State who voted to arraign the guilty President will be similarly honored. So it is all over the country. The men of pluck are the men honored of the people.

The nomination of the Hon. G. W. Julian, after an attempt to defeat him by a change in his district is peculiarly gratifying to the friends of Radicalism all over the nation. His honest, fearless adherence to freedom for a long number of years in the past has made him popular with the people.

He has been named in connection with a Cabinet appointment under President Wade. It is to be hoped that he will receive the appointment and accept it.

The President will be found guilty and Radical Ben. Wade will be installed into the office of President next week. There is no mistake about it. Our day of redemption is at hand, and next week will be one of rejoicing all over the land.

Charles E. Moss.

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

The Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* says: Another of the series of meetings for the discussion of the question of Woman Suffrage was held at Horticultural Hall Tuesday evening, and was well attended. Hon. Henry Chapin presided, and in assuming the chair made a few remarks upon the harmonious character of the previous discussions. He believed their object to be to assist the public in arriving at clear and correct opinions on this question which is now agitating the community, and that the interest and spirit with which the meetings have been conducted show that the time for its discussion has come. He felt that the abstract right of woman to the ballot must be allowed, but among his acquaintances he found many intelligent and well-educated women, who expressed dread at the responsibility of the ballot. This he said caused him to waver in his faith in the practical application of the new movement.

Stephen S. Foster was the principal speaker of the evening. He apologized for having announced Rev. Mr. Canoll as one of the speakers this evening, and said that he had mistaken the time, and Mr. Canoll would speak at the next meeting. He discussed the question at considerable length, basing his defence of Woman Suffrage on the inherent rights to acquire and hold property, to pursue happiness, and urged that as a consequence of those rights, woman is entitled to the ballot as a means of protecting her property and of pursuing happiness. He held that the oppression of woman is the last vestige of heathenism, and that as the first half of this century was spent in destroying slavery, the last half must be devoted to the enfranchisement of woman. He discussed the question on fundamental principles, and made a strong appeal for justice to woman. He discussed the various systems of human government, and held that under a government declaring the equality of men and that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed, there was nothing but inconsistency and injustice in denying the ballot to woman.

He severely criticized the assertions made by speakers on the other side, that we already have too many voters, and said that this, with all their other arguments, were such as would meet the approbation of every aristocracy in Europe, and could not be harmonized with the republican theory of government. He answered several points which had been advanced by various speakers, and reviewed the whole question with much ability and fairness. He was frequently interrupted with questions, and just at the close of the evening he was led into a conversational discussion between several parties in the audience, eliciting explanations of his views and greatly interesting the audience.

In conclusion he announced the next meeting on Tuesday of next week, at the same place, at which time Rev. A. Canoll and others will speak.

OBITUARY.

RACHEL GARRETT.

Died, at her residence in Wilmington, Del., on the 20th ult., Rachel Garrett aged 76 years, wife of Thomas Garrett.

In quick succession the early standard-bearers of the Anti-Slavery movement are one after another passing on to the next sphere of life. One of the earliest, as well as one of the most self-sacrificing and devoted of that number was Rachel Garrett, the beloved wife of our much esteemed friend Thomas Garrett. Living as Abolitionists in a slave-owning State, and exposed to unusual dangers, she shared bravely the labors and trials incident to their position. No roof in America has sheltered so many fugitives from slavery as that under which she lived and died. To extend the hand of charity to such was to invite persecution from the malignant haters of liberty for the negro, and to become a criminal (!) offender in the eye of the law of a slave-hunting, slave-holding nation. For many years has her face been a familiar one at the Anti-Slavery meetings in this city, in Philadelphia and elsewhere. She was also actively interested in the meetings of the Pennsylvania Progressive Friends, in the cause of temperance, of equal rights for women, and in everything which had for its object the good of humanity. She was a devoted wife and mother, a true and faithful friend. To her bereaved companion we extend warmest sympathy in his sorrow. For nearly forty years they had labored, enjoyed, and suffered together in a relation of fondest fellowship. We find the following in the Wilmington *Daily Commercial*:

"It is with feelings of sincere regret that we announce the death, after a lingering illness, of Rachel Garrett, the wife of our venerable and honored fellow citizen Thomas Garrett.

She had been to him, most emphatically, as in the quaint old Quaker marriage ceremony, she more than thirty years ago promised to be, "a loving and faithful wife, until death." She has been his loving companion, and his discreet and faithful helpmeet in all the once dangerous deeds of charity his generous heart prompted him to extend to fugitives from bondage, and has with him passed through trying scenes of domestic trouble and financial embarrassment. She has gone with him to those good old heart-stirring anti-slavery meetings, of which naught save the recollection and the good fruits are now left. She had suffered for many years from an affection of the lungs, which almost deprived her of her voice, but has through all never abated her active, stirring life, and never lost that cheerful disposition and sweetness of temper which made her the honored mistress of a happy home, where relatives and friends loved to congregate, and where unaffected and earnest hospitality tempted them to linger.

"She cheerfully awaited a change which her recent sufferings made her esteem a release, and last evening at about four o'clock, passed away to the realms awaiting those most faithful unto God, most loving towards Humanity."

Second Anniversary of the Universal Peace Society at Dodworth's Hall, New York, Friday, May 15th, 1868, commencing at 10 a.m., and continuing through several sessions.

That we may have peace among ourselves, in our homes, in the community and between all nations of the globe, this Radical Peace Movement sends forth a cordial and universal invitation to its coming Convention.

As there was peace in the beginning—as the prayers and preaching of the people are for it—as governments are established to secure it—as Christendom professes it and armies fight for it, and yet "there is no peace," it must be that there are obstacles to be removed, and practical righteousness to be adopted, that these prayers and professions shall be worth something.

There is a common hatred of injustice, oppression, slavery, robbery, piracy, torture and murder—and yet these are all legalized under the name of war. Human life and natural rights are consecrated by declarations and consciences, but are desecrated by constitutions and customs. Too long have we been under the reign of terror—let us now try that of love. We appeal to the common sense of the people. Dare to be what you approve. Be loyal unto God, and humane and just unto man; suffer, rather than cause suffering; die, rather than kill.

Let disarmament and arbitration extend throughout the world, and national and international councils be formed for the settlement of difficulties without any final resort to the sword power.

The Peace Movements of Europe and elsewhere have our sincere co-operation, and representatives and letters therefrom will be presented to these meetings. Contributions and communications are solicited to promote this important work. They may be sent to the Treasurer, Robert F. Wollcott, Boston, or to any of the officers.

Alfred H. Love, President.
M. S. T. Hoadley, Laura Blivin, } Secretaries.

THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

The Second Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association will be held in New York city on the 14th of May next, at the Cooper Institute, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m., to continue through the day and evening. It is earnestly desired that all those who believe that human rights inhere in human beings and are not dependent on any accident of sex or color, will be present to aid in establishing this essential element of justice.

Our statesmen are now attempting to reconstruct this government under the mistaken idea that the troubles of a government based on "the consent of the governed," can be healed, while more than half the people are shut out from all possibility of giving consent. They attempt to perpetuate an aristocracy of sex, unjust, tyrannical, and odious, of which the world must be rid before there can ever be a true Republic, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

To aid in establishing such a Republic, let the friends of equal human rights come to our anniversary, with fresh baptisms of faith in the sure triumph of these principles, with new pledges to use every just and honorable means to forward this cause.

In behalf of the Committee of arrangements.

Lucy Stone.

LITERARY.

The Union League Club of New York: *Its Memories of the Past*, is the title of a neatly printed pamphlet edition of an address by John Jay, Esq., President of the Club, at the last meeting in the old Club House on Union Square. We extract the following:

THE CLUB'S COLORED REGIMENTS.

"The authority to raise a black regiment, which was demanded from the State and refused by Governor Seymour, was asked and obtained by Colonel Cannon and Colonel Bliss, from Secretary Stanton. About the same time the patriotic women of New York met in these rooms to organize the Metropolitan Fair for the Sanitary Commission. That Fair netted a million of money for our wounded soldiers, and was rendered memorable by the interesting sword-contest, which the Club helped to decide, between Generals Grant and McClellan—a decision which was in no way reversed by the Presidential election. Again the wives and daughters of the members of the Club, true to the noblest instincts of woman's character, and hardly conscious that their example was to exert so large an influence throughout the land, in giving new confidence to their loyal countrymen, and dispiriting all renegade Americans, met here to provide stands of colors for our black regiments. Eight months after the week of terror, when men were hunted to death in our streets for no crime but their complexion, we reviewed, in this square, the Twentieth Regiment of United States Colored Troops, whose soldierly bearing and thorough discipline commanded universal admiration.

"You will remember—for it was a scene not to be forgotten—that, after receiving the colors from Dr. Charles King, in the presence of the donors, representing our social circles, they marched down Broadway to their steamer, at the foot of Canal street, preceded by members of the Club, and cheered by the patriotic citizens who thronged the line of march.

"The story of that ovation to a black regiment in New York was presently known throughout the country, and so revolutionized popular sentiment, that, as we were told by a distinguished officer from the Southwest, officers who had hesitated to accept commands in colored regiments, immediately hastened to fill the positions they had before declined.

"Then followed our second regiment, the Twenty-sixth United States Colored Troops, which sailed on Easter-Sunday, headed by their brave Colonel Silliman, who so soon redeemed with his life the pledge he gave on receiving the colors, that he and his men 'would love, honor, and protect them with their lives.'

"Of our black troops we were assured that not a soldier deserted in camp, on the march, or in the field; that they never trampled on their oaths, nor violated their honor; and that their steady gallantry, in the face of danger and death, showed how well they had learned the first duty of a citizen—that he must be ready to die for his country."

The new Club House on Madison square, has a fine reading-room, with the leading representative journals of the daily and weekly press, including The Standard, on file; and the commencement of a good library.

The biographical sketch of the life of James Mott, by Mary Grew, to which we alluded a few weeks ago, has been completed, and is now in press to be issued about the 10th inst., by W. P. Tomlinson, 39 Nassau street. It is a beautiful tribute to the memory of a truly good man. From advance slips we extract the following interesting and characteristic incident, contributed by Robert Purvis, Esq. In a letter to Miss Grew he says:

"An interesting fact came to my knowledge on the day of his interment which I beg leave to state. An old and highly respected merchant of Philadelphia, Mr. Robert Ewing, being informed by me of the death of Mr. Mott, his surprise and sorrow were expressed in the most feeling manner; and after many words of commendation of the virtues of our lamented friend, he said: 'I wish to tell you of a circumstance which exoited in my mind at the time of its occurrence, and still impresses me with the most exalted estimate of his noble character. I was chosen as a juryman in the Christiana trials, the case being that of Castner Hanway, and was about taking my seat in the jury-box, when James Mott arose and objected to my serving. I was forthwith discharged, and upon leaving the Court room I was followed by Mr. Mott who, calling to me, said: 'Robert Ewing, I desire to explain to thee the ground of my objection. Knowing thee, I would confidently trust thee as a juryman in any matter affecting me personally; but thou art a native of Maryland, and I was apprehensive that the influences of thy early education might unconsciously prejudice thee against the accused.'"

This pamphlet will be handsomely printed, and will undoubtedly be desired by many of the widely extended circle of the friends and acquaintances of the deceased.

There will be commenced in the *Herald of Health* for June, 1868, a series of valuable articles entitled The Care, Education and rearing of children, written by Mrs. Horace Mann, Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, Mrs. Dio. Lewis, Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, Frances Dana Gage, Grace Greenwood, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Sarah Jane Hale, Mrs. C. M. Severance, etc., and they will be continued through the volume. The first paper will be by Mrs. Horace Mann, on *The Care of Young Children*. The second paper will be by Grace Greenwood, entitled *The Physical Education of Girls*. Miss Peabody, who has devoted so much of her life to the education of very young children, has prepared a paper on the Kindergarten Schools of Germany. Other papers will follow in succession, and the series will be exceedingly valuable to all who are interested in the improvement of the race. To secure the full series, subscriptions should be sent in at once. Price, $2 a year; sample numbers, 20 cents. Address Miller, Wood & Co., 15 Laight Street, New York.

The Life of Dr. A. P. Dostie, by Mrs. Emily Hazen Reed, of New Orleans, a handsome volume of three hundred and seventy-six pages has just made its appearance. It is published by W. P. Tomlinson, at 39 Nassau street. Price $2 per copy. We shall present some extracts from the book hereafter. It is really a history of the memorable and momentous conflict at New Orleans, one of the most important chapters in the history of the great rebellion.

Our Young Folks for May is an interesting number. It contains the fourth and concluding part of Dickens's "Holiday Romance;" "Dottie Dimple Making a Call;" by Sophia May; "The Peterkin's at Home;" "How June Found Massa Linkum;" "Cast Away in the Cold;" beside other pleasing and instructive stories. The illustrations are good and the treasury of charades and problems as attractive as usual.

RECEIVED.

Behind the Scenes. By Elizabeth Keckley. 371 pages. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co.

A Treatise on Meteorology. By Elias Loomis, LL.D. 299 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A Sister's Bye-Hours. By Jean Ingelow. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Highland Rambles; A Poem. By William B. Wright. 183 pages. Boston: Adams & Co.

Jeanie's Quiet Life. A Novel. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Atlantic Monthly, for May. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Public Spirit, for May. New York: The Public Spirit Association.

Our Schoolday Visitor, for May. Philadelphia: J. W. Daughaday & Co.

The New York Teacher, for May. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.

The Monthly Phonographic Magazine, for March. New York: James E. Munson.

The Sunday Law Unconstitutional and Unscriptural. By Nathaniel C. Nash.

The King of Bavaria kindly permitted Dr. J. C. Ayer to have a copy taken of Rauch's celebrated colossal statue of Victory, which belongs to the Bavarian crown and stands at the entrance of the Royal Palace at Munich. The Doctor had it cast in bronze, and has presented it to the City of Lowell, where it stands in the Park and symbolizes the triumphs of both freedom and medicine. Her manufactures are the pride of Lowell, and foremost among them Ayer's Medicines make her name gratefully remembered by the unnumbered multitude who are cured by them of afflicting and often dangerous diseases.—*Boston Journal.*

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Choice of Evils.
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Healthy Spices and Condiments.

This Monthly is a real live and valuable Family Magazine, original in character, new in matter, and designed to show how human life may be made beautiful, how health may be regained, how children may be reared in health, with strong athletic bodies, how to nurse and care for the sick, how to cook, to

Miscellaneous Department.

THE WIFE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

From school and ball and rout she came,
The city's fair, pale daughter,
To drink the wine of mountain air
Beside the Bearcamp Water.

Her step grew firmer on the hills
That watch our homesteads over;
On cheek and lip, from summer fields,
She caught the bloom of clover.

For health comes sparkling in the streams
From cool Chocorua stealing,
There's iron in our northern winds
Our pines are trees of healing.

She sat beneath the broad-armed elms
That skirt the mowing meadow,
And watched the gentle west wind weave
The grass with shine and shadow.

Beside her, from the summer heat
To share her grateful screening,
With forehead bared, the farmer stood,
Upon his pitchfork leaning.

Framed in its damp, dark locks, his face
Had nothing mean or common—
Strong, manly, true, the tenderness
And pride beloved of woman.

She looked up, glowing with the health
The country air had brought her,
And, laughing, said: "You lack a wife,
Your mother lacks a daughter.

"To mend your frock and bake your bread
You do not need a lady:
Be sure among these brown old homes
Is some one waiting ready—

"Some fair, sweet girl with skillful hand
And cheerful heart for treasure,
Who never played with ivory keys,
Or danced the polka's measure."

He bent his black brows to a frown,
He set his white teeth tightly,
"'Tis well," he said, "for one like you
To choose for me so lightly.

"You think, because my life is rude,
I take no note of sweetness;
I tell you love has naught to do
With meetness or unmeetness.

"Itself its best excuse, it asks
No leave of pride or fashion
When silken zone or homespun frock
It stirs with throbs of passion.

"You think me deaf and blind; you bring
Your winning graces hither
As free as if from cradle-time
We two had played together.

"You tempt me with your laughing eyes,
Your cheek of sundown's blushes,
A motion as of waving grain,
A music as of thrushes.

"The plaything of your summer sport,
The spells you weave around me,
You cannot at your will undo,
Nor leave me as you found me.

"You go as lightly as you came,
Your life is well without me;
What care you that these hills will close
Like prison-walls about me?

"No mood is mine to seek a wife,
Or daughter for my mother;
Who loves you loses in that love
All power to love another!

"I dare your pity or your scorn,
With pride your own exceeding;
I fling my heart into your lap
Without a word of pleading."

She looked up from the waving grass
So archly, yet so tender;
"And if I give you mine," she said,
"Will you forgive the lender?

"Nor frock nor tan can hide the man;
And see you not, my farmer,
How weak and fond a woman waits
Behind this silken armor?

"I love you: on that love alone,
And not my worth, presuming,
Will you not trust for summer fruit
The tree in May-day blooming?"

Alone the hangbird overhead,
His hair-swung cradle straining,
Looked down to see love's miracle—
The giving that is gaining.

And so the farmer found a wife,
His mother found a daughter;
There looks no happier home than hers
On pleasant Bearcamp Water.

Flowers spring to blossom where she walks
The careful ways of duty;
Our hard, stiff lines of life with her
Are flowing curves of beauty.

Our homes are cheerier for her sake,
Our door-yards brighter blooming,
And all about the social air,
Is sweeter for her coming.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

EVENINGS WITH THE AUTHOR OF "OLD GRIMES."

Under this title S. H. W. has contributed an interesting article to the Providence *Journal*, the greater portion of which we give below:

* * * * * * *

In the earlier years of my acquaintance with him, from 1837 to 1850, his home was a centre of attraction to many of the most intellectual people of the city, and to almost all the noted scholars, orators, authors and artists who visited Providence. The period included within these dates was one of remarkable intellectual activity in New England. Ralph Waldo Emerson had roused all thoughtful minds by his lecture before the Divinity School at Cambridge, and,

"With a word that solved the sphere,
And stirred the demon everywhere,

had boldly broached his theory of the supremacy of the individual soul to all exoteric authority. Theodore Parker was advocating the claims of religious rationalism. O. A. Bronson, who, at a later day, admitted only such rays of religious truth as came to him through the stained glass of cathedral windows, was then setting forth broad, practical views of religious and political freedom in the Boston *Quarterly*. Bronson Alcott was teaching his refined platonisms in parlors and lecture-rooms. The *Dial*, a monthly magazine, filled with the fine aromas of the Concord woods and rivers, was marking with significant finger the progress of the hour; and the *Harbinger*, a periodical of great ability, was beginning to wave its white wings over the young philanthropists and socialists of Brook Farm, whose Utopian dreams Hawthorne has so cleverly delineated in his Blithedale Romance, avowing, in his preface to that work, that he regarded his residence among them as the most romantic episode of his life. Meantime, Mr. Alcott had broached some new theories of education, which, ignoring the vulgar incentives of emulation and fear, aspired to bend and train the growing "twigs" of Young America into stalwart and graceful trees, by the force of moral suasion and the refining influences of æsthetic culture. The theory, having been tried with temporary success in Boston, was now to be tried in Providence. A fine new school-house, in the Grecian style of architecture, was erected on Green street, in which the path of learning was to be literally strewed with flowers. The opening of the school was inaugurated by a discourse from R. W. Emerson, in the church of the Rev. Dr. Farley.

The gentleman called to preside over this rose-colored institution of learning was Hiram Fuller, Esq., the well-known "Belle Brittan," of the New York Evening *Mirror*, and the editor, during the war, of a London paper, devoted to the cause of the Southern Confederacy.

The Green street school, although perhaps somewhat in advance of the time, doubtless did a very good work in its day. One unmistakable benefit it conferred upon Providence in drawing to our city Margaret Fuller, afterward Countess of Ossoli, as an assistant teacher of languages and belles-lettres. When she first dawned upon our horizon, in the Summer of 1837, we felt as might

——"Some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken."

She brought with her a flood of light on all the new and exciting topics of the day. She came enveloped in a halo of transcendentalism—a nebulous cloud of German mysticism and idealism. Miss Fuller was, as one of her memorialists has said, "of the blood royal of intellect," and always sought and attracted to herself the finest elements within the sphere of her influence.

It was at the house of Albert G. Greene, Esq., that I first made the acquaintance of this new star. There, night after night, I heard her discourse in eloquent monologue to admiring audiences. German mysticism and transcendentalism were at that time rapidly preparing the way for the astounding disclosures of mesmeric and spiritual clairvoyance. The Rev. George Bush, the great Hebraist, was writing and lecturing on "The Spiritual Body," and the theories of Swedenborg. The disciples and exponents of Fourier were discussing in the New York *Tribune* and elsewhere the vast advantages likely to accrue from his enlarged views of social science and from the adoption of his comprehensive system of communism and co-operative labor. Men were beginning to understand the great Christian doctrine of "the solidarity of the race," and to know that no partial salvation is possible to man.

On all these topics Margaret talked with inspiration and enthusiam, always soaring above her subject, always baffling analysis and transcending expectation. If her intellectual arrogance sometimes repelled, her rapid intuitions and electric sympathies rarely failed to dazzle and attract. She excelled in largeness and nobleness of conception and expression rather than in concentration and transparency of thought and diction.

She did not like to be questioned as to her meaning, and, indeed, one could not help suspecting that these Delphic utterances were sometimes a riddle to the Priestess herself. The Rev. Frederick H. Hedge says of her that "no adequate estimate of her ability can be formed from her writings." It was in conversation alone that she displayed the full power of her genius. Mr. Alcott calls her "the most brilliant talker of her day." After she left Providence, she said, writing to a friend in this city, "you must not expect from me here the intellectual *verve* and spontaneity that seemed native to the atmosphere of your B—— street coteries."

Mr. Greene, who loved better to review the past than to anticipate the future, and whose intellect was essentially and constitutionally objective and realistic, rather than speculative and introspective, listened to all her fine theories with a quiet smile, sometimes riddling them with sharp arrows of satire, but always welcoming every positive accession of thought and experience with a most hearty and genial acceptance. He parried Margaret's assaults upon his "sturdy conservatism" with admirable good sense and temper, but, as I remember, liked best to meet her upon the neutral grounds of art and *belles-lettres*. One of her memorialists says of her, that during her residence in Providence her mind was opening more and more to the charms of art. Doubtless this was in no slight degree attributable to the stimulus which it received, in this direction, from her intimacy with the Providence poet. Notwithstanding the differences in their habits of thought and culture, or, I might rather say, in virtue of these differences, they assimilated wonderfully; and when the rich records of her eventful Italian life were swept away, with all she held dear, in that tragic death on the desolate sea-beaches of the Long Island shore, no one more sincerely mourned her loss than her conservative friend of earlier days, Albert Gorton Greene.

I often recall with a tender and not unpleasing sadness, the long vanished friends, and the once familiar faces I have, in other years, seen gathered in unconstrained and delightful intercourse around his library table. I remember the pleasant evenings passed there, the readings, the recitations, the mutual comments and criticisms, the happy suggestions, the ingenious arguments, the earnest talks, the fluent gayety, and ready wit in which he was ever a most genial participant.

Among his frequent guests during some of the years I have indicated, were Margaret Fuller, Frances Sargent Osgood, and Miss Anne C. Lynch, now Mrs. Botta, of New York, to whom Mr. Greene rendered valuable assistance in her compilation of the "Rhode Island Book," published in Providence, by Hiram Fuller, in the autumn of 1841. There, too, I frequently met the witty and accomplished Miss S. S. J., of Cambridge, Mass., and the Rev. Charles T. Brooks, of Newport, the translator of German poetry and romance. Among the occasional visitors there, I remember Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, John Neal of Portland, Rev. Charles Upham of Salem, Oliver Wendell Holmes, N. P. Willis, Mr. Ripley of the *Tribune*, the Rev. Dr. Hedge, Dr. Osgood, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, and a host of other noted men and women whose names are familiarly known to the world.

With his guests Mr. Greene always discussed the subjects most interesting to them with interest and ability, never failing to bring to the theme of the moment some pertinent anecdote, or valuable suggestion from the opulent storehouse of his memory, and ready to assist with his literary counsel and experience all who sought his advice.

One might look long and vainly for a man of letters capable of filling the place he once filled among us; one who, regardless of name and fame and worldly influence, lived serenely in "the still air of delightful studies," devoting himself to them with a sincerity and singleness of purpose that was its own great reward. S. H. W.

Science and Nature.—It is very true that the progress of science does modify our *intellectual* view of nature, and that the inventions to which progressive science gives birth enable us to turn the forces of nature to practical uses; but, however, by advancing knowledge, phenomena may be explained, or discoveries be applied, the outward universe will ever be, to the general consciousness, an instinctive, an immediate, and, upon the whole, a uniform revelation. So it will be even to the learned, as to the vulgar; the sun will rise and set as aforetime, and as of old; the moon will brighten the heavens with her lustre, and the earth with her beauty; and the stars be, as they always have been, the pomp and glory of the night. We may adduce the example of astronomy itself, to prove how little science changes impression, or interferes with the consciousness that belongs to sensibility and imagination.

No one doubts that in the mind of Job, of the Psalmist, of Isaiah, the ideas of the heavens were as different as could be from those of modern astronomy, and as diminutive as different; but can modern astronomy transcend in sublimity the language of those inspired men? And why not? Because the *feeling* of the sublime is not the feeling of bulk or of distance,—it is not suggested by the measurable, however remote or near; the feeling of the sublime unites the sense of mystery and of the infinite; whatever can excite this sense gives us the feeling of sublimity, and in the degree that it thus excites us. So could the heavens excite the ancient sages of Chaldæa and Palestine,—and the heavens of modern astronomy can no more; for reach the utmost visible boundary of space, what we have traversed can yet be measured, and before us is still the Infinite Unknown. Thus, after all, we are in the midst of immensity, and the impression inspires us with solemn awe; the ancients had a like impression and a like awe. We have a sense of mystery and of infinity, and in *that* sense a feeling of the sublime; the ancients had no less a sense of mystery and of infinity,—perhaps a sense more profound even than ours, and accordingly they had a feeling of the sublime, to which they gave the most solemn grandeur of expression.—*Giles's Human Life in Shakspeare.*

Railroad Travel.—The fastest train in England is one on the Great Western Railway (the broad guage) which goes every day 194 miles, with four stoppages amounting to twenty minutes in 4 1-2 hours, or at the rate of 43 miles an hour. The greatest exceptional run ever made in Great Britain was in 1862, when the answers were brought to the dispatches sent to Washington respecting Messrs. Mason and Slidell. The train from Cork to Dublin ran at the rate of 41 miles an hour. The mail steamer from Dublin reached Holyhead at 8:15 in the morning. At 8:28 the special train left London and performed the whole distance in exactly five hours, or at a speed of 52 3-4 miles an hour—a speed unparalleled for so long a distance on a line crowded with traffic. By means of an invention for supplying the tender with water from a trough *in transitu*, the engine ran 130 miles without pulling up to take water. This is the longest run ever made by any engine in this country without stopping. In France the fastest trains do not exceed 34 miles an hour; in Belgium 34 1-4 miles; in Prussia 31 1-2 miles.—*The Stockholder.*

LITTLE ROSE.

She comes with fairy footsteps—
Softly their echoes fall—
And her shadow plays like summer shade
Across the garden wall.
The golden light is dancing bright
'Mid the mazes of her hair,
And her fair young locks are waving free
To the wooing of the air.

Like a sportful fawn she boundeth
So gleefully along;
As a wild young bird she caroleth
The burden of a song.
The summer flowers are clustering thick
Around her dancing feet,
And on her cheek the summer breeze
Is breathing soft and sweet.

The very sunbeams seem to linger
Above the holy head,
And the wild flowers at her coming
Their richest fragrance shed.
And oh! how lovely light and fragrance
Mingle in the life within;
Oh! how fondly do they nestle
Round the soul that knows no sin.

She comes—the spirit of her childhood—
A thing of mortal birth,
Yet bearing still the breath of Heaven
To redeem her from the earth.
She comes in bright-robed innocence,
Unsoiled by blot or blight,
And passeth by our wayward path,
A gleam of angel light.

Oh! blessed things are children—
The gifts of heavenly love;
They stand betwixt our world-hearts
And better things above;
They link us with the spirit-world
Of purity and truth,
And keep our hearts still fresh and young
With the presence of their youth.

—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

VESUVIUS.

THE ERUPTIONS "A SPECTACLE GRAND BEYOND ALL POWER OF DESCRIPTION."

Naples Correspondence London Times.

Vesuvius, the eruptions of which have been hitherto a source of amusement, has this week awakened considerable apprehension. Every day, almost, it has presented a different appearance. On Monday it was covered with a mantle of snow, which was striped at intervals with broad stripes of lava, and the explosive force of the mountain began again to increase, throwing out smoke and dark-colored sand with slight detonations. "The smoke holes," said Professor Palmieri, "were covered with sublimates of salmarine and of metallic chlorures; the smoke issued, too, not only from the cone of the summit, but from another lateral hole which, from the great deposit of material around it has grown into the dignity of a cone. On Tuesday night the spectacle was grand beyond all power of description. Large masses of lava were shot up to a great height, one of which, even from the city, was seen to fall like a mighty rock and roll down the sides of the great cone. Streams of red-hot lava were flowing over the crater, and bathing the whole of the upper part of the mountain, while fiery lava, ashes and sand were sent up with an immense impetus, irradiating the sky far and near. At intervals during the whole of the night there was a loud and continued cannonade as of artillery, which was heard in the most distant parts of Naples. Clouds and darkness hid the mountain from us for two days, and what was going on under their mysterious veil it was impossible to say; but a north wind swept them all away, and then Vesuvius was again revealed in all its magnificence, and one may almost add in all its terrors. The eruption of Thursday," to quote Palmieri:

"Was at its greatest intensity. Enormous masses of solid lava were launched to a fearful height, falling and rolling down in every direction, thus rendering the ascent of the mountain yet more dangerous. The detonations were very frequent, and so violent as to cause the walls of the observatory to rock backwards and forwards."

It was necessary to detach the scientific instruments from the walls and place them on the ground in order to preserve them from the strong undulatory shocks. Persons who were present at the time compare their sensations with those which they have felt on board a vessel when rocked by the waves. On the same day the inhabitants of Torre del Greco were again in so much apprehension of another disaster that Palmieri went over to examine the extinct holes which in 1861 spread devastation over the city. He so far satisfied them by reporting that "there was no imminent danger," and thus tranquillizing the population, a great proportion of whom were making regular arrangements to leave. As I write, the eruption continues with equal violence, and dense masses of dark smoke beaten down by a bitter northeaster are sweeping over the sea.

Crowds of visitors have come to see this wondrous spectacle, and, among others, some of the members of the Turin Alpine Club.

A Singular Case.—There is now living in the town of Schodack, Rensselaer county, a farmer, 65 years of age, who has never voted at any town, county, State or national election, and who will doubtless be believed in his assertion that he never will. Many years ago he belonged to a church in that town, but believing himself to have been wronged by the church authorities, in a controversy as to the title of some land claimed by him, he has never since entered a church, nor attended a funeral, nor come within sound of a minister's voice while discharging any spiritual duty. In early life he could read and write without trouble; but for many years past he has labored under a peculiar mental difficulty, which the piously inclined will doubtless regard as a corollary of his quarrels with the church.

He can read the Bible and understand each word instantly upon seeing it, but upon passing to the next word he instantly forgets that which precedes it, and thus the sentence absolutely fails to convey an idea to his mind any more than the miscellaneous jumble of the same words without regard to the construction of the sentence. He can write a letter without difficulty, but after it is finished, although he can read the words of which it is composed, his forgetfulness renders him incapable of telling what he has written. He transacts business and holds conversation upon various subjects, and in all other respects is considered a man of fair memory. He is a person of good moral character, and practices the Golden Rule of doing unto others as he would have others do unto him. In his travels, if he finds a farmer's fence down, he stops and puts it up, unless there should be too much of it down, in which event he notifies the owner. Altogether, his case presents aspects which may be regarded as a curious mental phenomena.—*Albany Argus.*

The Coming Man no Smoker.—Whether the coming man will drink wine or be a teetotaller has not yet, perhaps, been positively ascertained; but it is certain he will not smoke. Nothing can be surer than that. The Coming Man will be as healthy as Tecumseh, as clean as Shirley, and as well groomed as Dexter. He will not fly the female of his species, nor wall himself in from her approach, nor give her cause to prefer his absence. We are not left to infer or conjecture this; we can ascertain it from what we know of the messengers who have announced the coming of the Coming Man. The most distinguished of these was Goethe—perhaps the nearest approach to the complete human being that has yet appeared. The mere fact that this admirable person lived always unpolluted by this seductive poison is a fact of some significance; but the important fact is, that he *could not* have smoked and remained Goethe. When we get close to the man and live intimately with him, we perceive the impossibility of his ever having been a smoker. We can as easily fancy Desdemona smoking a cigarette, as the highly-groomed, alert, refined, imperial Goethe with a cigar in his mouth. In America, the best gentleman and most variously learned and accomplished man we have had—the man, too, who had in him most of what will constitute the glory of the future,—was Thomas Jefferson, Democrat, of Virginia. He was versed in six languages; he danced, rode, and hunted as well as General Washington; he played the violin well, wrote admirably, farmed skilfully, and was a most generous, affectionate, humane, and great-souled human being. It was the destiny of this ornament and consolation of his species to raise tobacco, and live by tobacco all his life. But he knew too much to use it himself; or, to speak more correctly, his fine feminine senses, his fine masculine instincts, revolted from the use of it, without any assistance from his understanding.

There is no trace of the pipe in the writings of Washington or Franklin; probably they never smoked; so that we may rank the three great men of America—Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson—among the exempts. Washington Irving, who was the first literary man of the United States to achieve a universal reputation, and who is still regarded as standing at the head of our literature, was no smoker. Two noted Americans, Dr. Nott and John Quincy Adams, after having been slaves of the weed for many years, escaped from bondage and smoked no more.—*Parton, in Atlantic Monthly, for February.*

Radical Religious Association.—This Association met last evening, at Concord Hall, for the purpose of hearing the report of the committee appointed at a previous meeting relative to a plan for organization. The chair was occupied by Mr. Henry Damon, who called upon Mr. A. B. Orcutt, chairman of the committee, to offer his report. The denomination is to be called the "South End Free Religious Fellowship." Recognizing an Infinite Intelligence as pervading the universe, but leaving all forms of its expression or conception to each person's own conscience or conviction, and conceiving it the inborn right and duty of every person to think, speak and act without restraint from any; and, moreover, that the common welfare is best promoted and secured by the freest expression of every individual. The adherents form themselves into a free fellowship for the purpose of furthering these aims and ends by such measures and instrumentalities as from time to time they shall judge best, and welcome all sincere persons to their meetings and discussions, desirous of holding themselves in readiness to accept light and guidance according to their several capacities and needs, deeming all subjects open to consideration and progress in life and light, their privilege.

The report was unanimously adopted as the basis of the organization, after which the subject "How does the mind receive light?" was presented by Mr. Orcutt, and discussed rather metaphysically by that gentleman, John Wetherbee, S. H. Morse, Rev. J. T. Sargent and others, and at 9 o'clock the meeting adjourned.

Old Jokes.—There is scarcely a modern illustration of witty or humorous Irish simplicity which is not at least as old as the Platonic philosopher of Alexandria, Hierocles, who lived five centuries before the Christian era. At that early period men laughed at the simpleton who resolved never to go into the water until he had learned to swim; or at him who wished himself as speechless as the sick man from whom he could obtain no reply, in order that he might return the invalid's incivility; or at that other who attempted to keep his horse alive without food, and who failed just at the moment of success by the obstinate brute dying. Greeks laughed long before Irishmen at their respectively alleged fellow-countryman who carried a brick about as a sample of the house he had to sell. The Hibernian who shut his eyes before a looking-glass, that he might see how he looked when he was asleep; who bought a crow, to test the truth of the assertion that the bird lived a couple of centuries; who, in a shipwreck, clung to an anchor to save himself from drowning; and who remarked to a friend who reasonably denied the asserted fact of his reported death that the fact had been vouched for by one who was more worthy of credit than he who denied it—that Hibernian is an old Greek in modern guise, and the Greek, as in the story of Amphitryon, is believed to be indebted to a Hindoo predecessor who may, probably, turn "*Chin chin!*" to the original inventor of the story in Pekin!—*Argosy for January.*

CHANGE.

Why should we mourn that changes come,
When 'neath the cold and shrouded snow,
The grass and flowers may shelter find,
And in the darkness bud and grow?

Why should we mourn that clouds are formed
And o'er our drooping spirits fly?
The law that forms the clouds expands
The bow and brings unclouded sky.

Our hopes may fall like leaves away,
And swiftly pass each winged hour;
But leaves ne'er fall until the fruit
Is formed within the bursting flower.

Then change is Angel of the Soul,
That keeps all things from swift decay,
Through which the crystal here is formed,
And life anew may spring alway.

Thus when upon these thoughts I muse,
That once awoke my brooding fears,
I see how Beauty's matchless soul
In all with cheerful robes appears.

I see the worm upon the ground
With golden tints expand its wing;
What, then as more than worm I am,
Unto my soul shall changes bring?

A tribute to young writers is generously and affectionately paid by John G. Whittier, in a couple of paragraphs prefixed to the publication in the Newburyport *Herald* of "The Wreck of the Pocahontas." He says:

"It is from the pen of Celia Thaxter, who saw what she so well describes, when a child, living on the little rock of White Island.

"It is a little remarkable that some of the best contributions to our periodical literature are made by writers who never had the good or ill-fortune to publish a book, and whose names are not included in the guild of authorship. The *Atlantic*, with its long and brilliant array of contributors of established reputation on both sides of the water, has had nothing better than such poems as "Hilary" and "Skipper Ben," by Lucy Larcom, and the prose story of "The Tenth of January," by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. As to the piece now under notice, if the jury of the public could forget "What's in a Name," and impartially compare it with the contribution of the illustrious English Laureate in the January number of the magazine, there is scarcely a doubt that their verdict would be in favor of the comparatively unknown and unpractical writer, who has told with such strength and intensity the story of her child-experience."

An Anecdote of Dean Swift.—The eccentric Dean Swift was walking in the Phœnix road, Dublin, when a thunder shower came on, and he took shelter under a tree, where a party was sheltering also, two young women and two young men. One of the girls looked very sad, till, as the rain fell, her tears fell. The Dean inquired the cause, and learned that it was their wedding day; they were on their way to church, and now her white clothes were wet and she couldn't go. "Never mind, I'll marry you," said the Dean; and took out his prayer book, and there and then married them, their witnesses being present; and, to make the thing complete, he tore a leaf from his pocket book and with his pencil wrote and signed a certificate which he handed to the bride. It was as follows:

"Under a tree, in stormy weather,
I married this man and woman together,
Let none but Him who rules the thunder
Sever this man and woman asunder.
Jonathan Swift,
Dean of St. Patrick's."

Not Easily Satisfied.—Mr. Young supplies the following story of a Scotch student in theology: "A simple country lad," he says, "went up for examination previous to receiving his first communion. The pastor, knowing that he was not very profound in his theology, began by asking him how many commandments there were, to which he cautiously replied, 'Aiblins (perhaps) a hunner.' The pastor, of course, told the youth that he must wait and learn more. On his way home he met a friend, and on learning that he, too, was going to the manse for examination, shrewdly asked him 'Weel, what will ye say, noo, if the minister speer hoo mony commandments there are?' 'Say! why, I shall say ten, to be sure.' To which the other triumphantly replied, 'Ten? Try him wi' ten! I tried him wi' a hunner, and he wasna satisfied.' This story was related to the dean by a minister of the Established Church who had the names of place and persons."

Lieutenant-Colonel Weyde, a Russian officer, has invented an apparatus for throwing light under water. It is not expensive, and experiments made with it by the Russian and Prussian governments in the sea near Cronstadt, and in the river Spree, are stated to have produced very satisfactory results. A very important use of this invention is, that it enables the officers of a ship-of-war to discover any submarine mines or torpedoes sunk under it by the enemy. It must, of course, also greatly facilitate the recovery of sunken ships and other objects at the bottom of the sea.

The shortest letter in history is supposed to have been Senator Sumner's to Secretary Stanton, telling the latter to "stick." The Boston *Advertiser* says that in Maine a person once sent to another a sheet of paper, on which was "?," and nothing else. By return of mail he received another sheet, having only "0." The correspondence meant: "What news?"—Answer, "Nothing."

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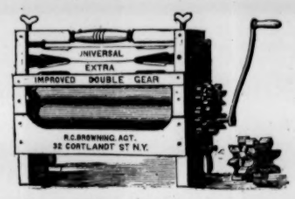

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